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NOVEMBER 21, 1986

NATIONAL REVIEW

THE ENDURING CASE FOR GOLD

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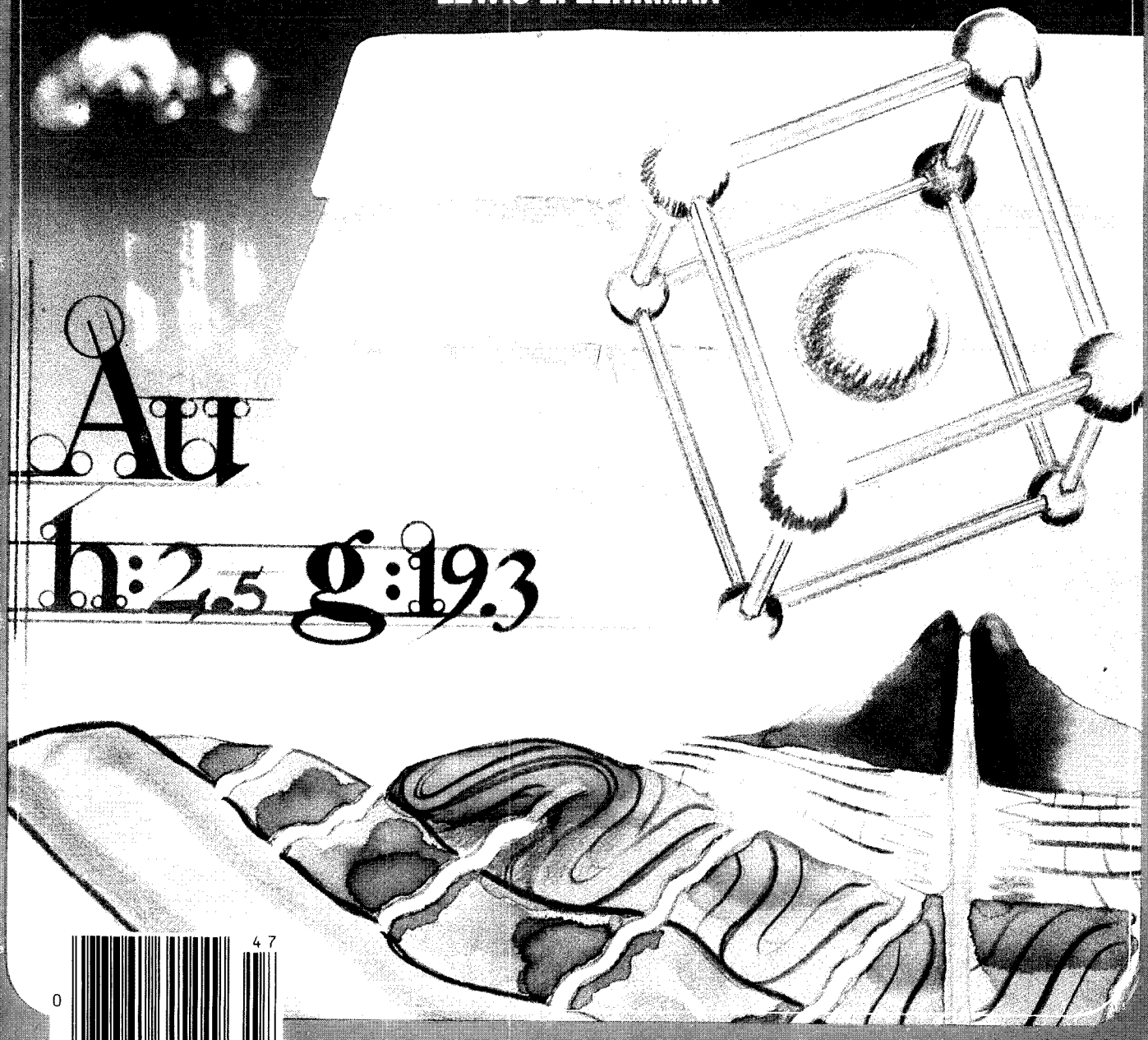

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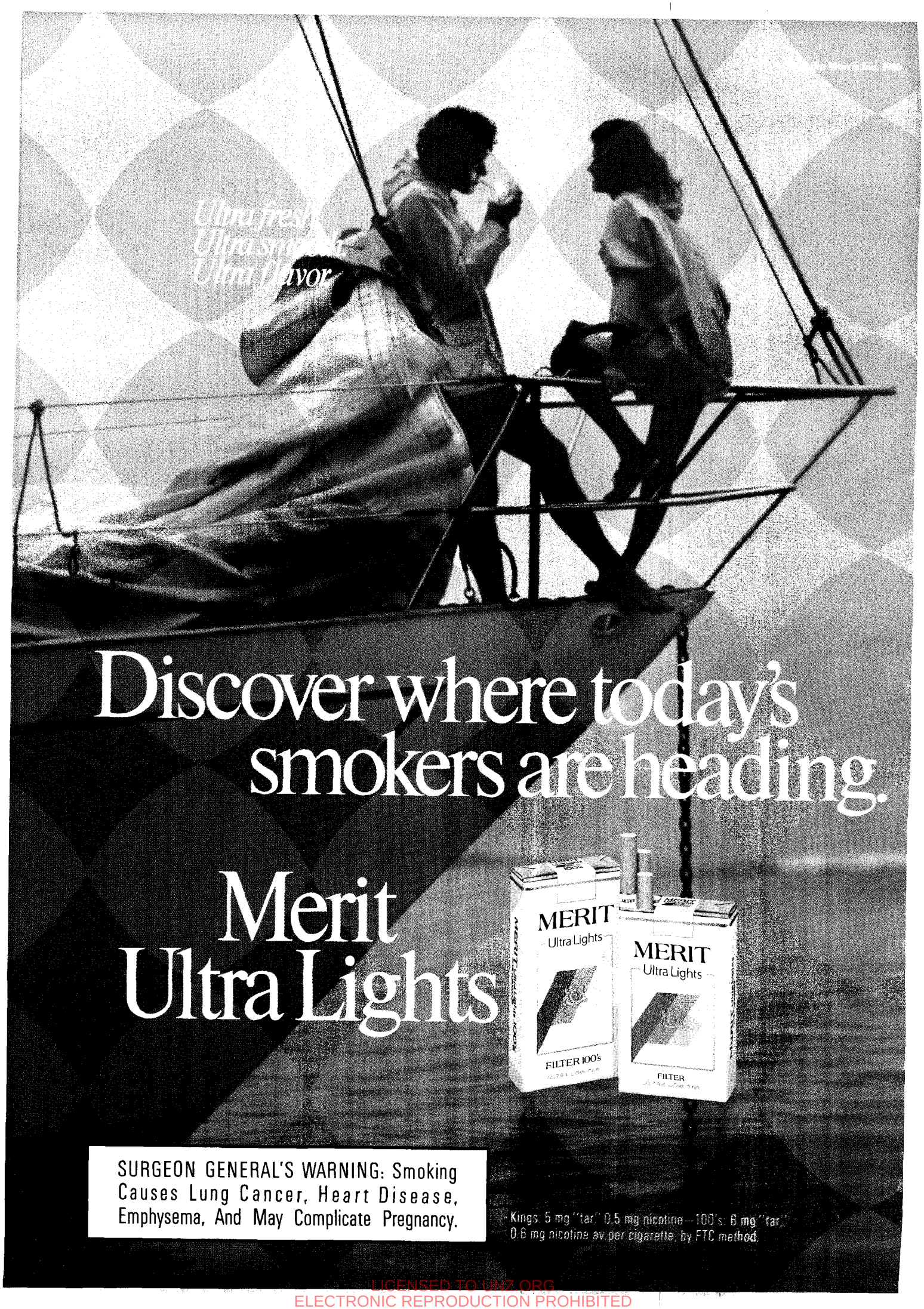
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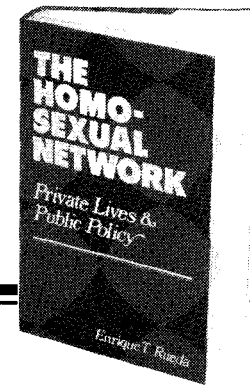

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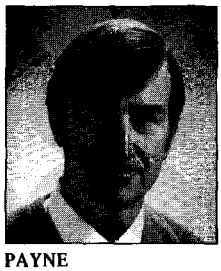
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The key to the trade deficit and the crisis in American manufacturing has little to do with declining American competitiveness or unfair foreign trade practices. The real problem is bad economic theory. The world financial system, which for decades was rigged to give U.S. policymakers a free lunch, has finally sent the bill. *Lewis E. Lehrman*

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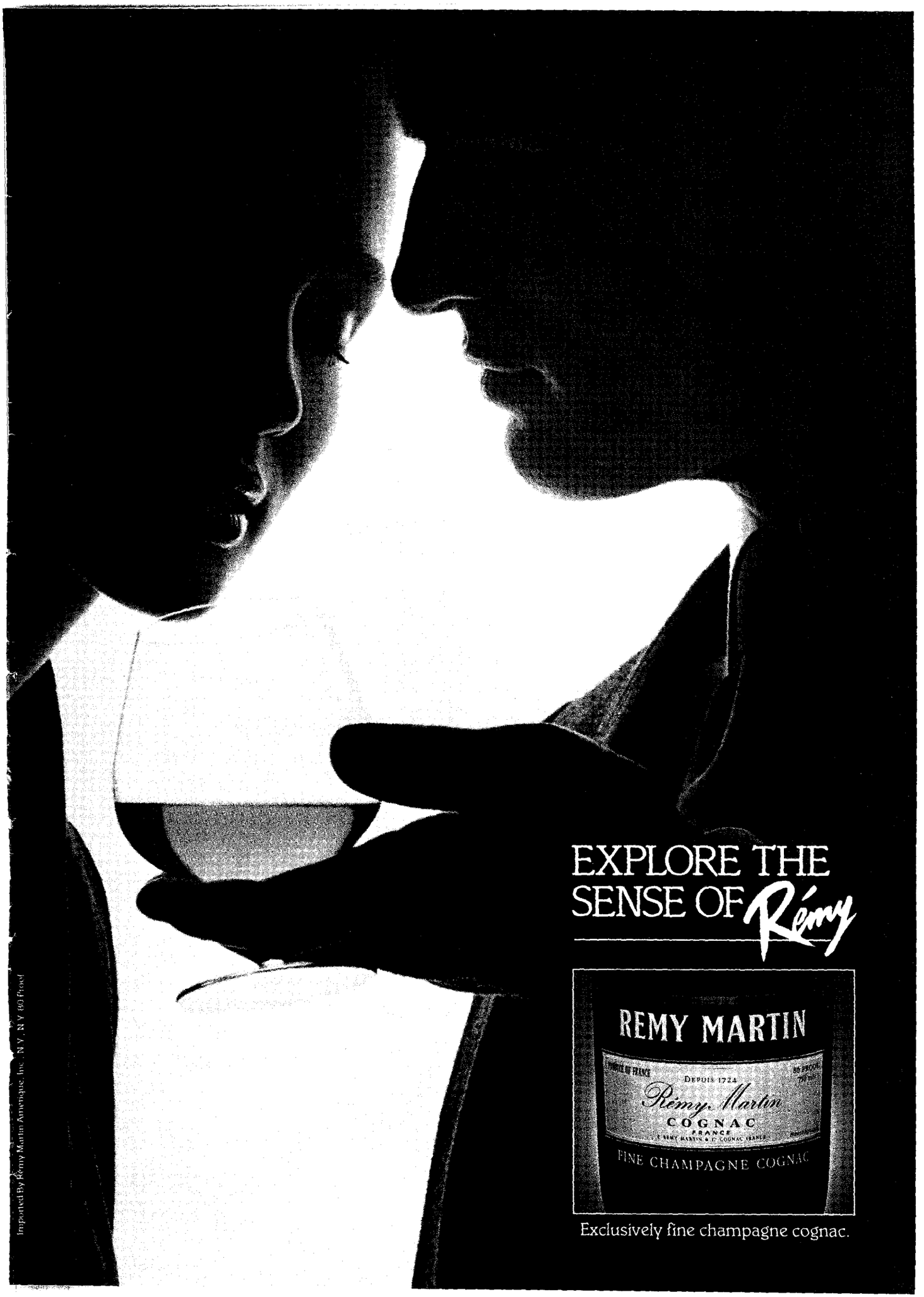

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LETTERS

Sweet Nothings

The black voter isn't like a schoolgirl who will fall head over heels if you simply say, "I love you" ["I Just Called to Say I Love You," by Henry Klingeman, Nov. 7]. Republicans will have to do more than whisper sweet nothings in black ears. Of course it's true that the conservative impulses and traditions of blacks should make them receptive to the Republicans' message. And yet I get the idea that Mr. Klingeman is serious when he praises New Jersey Governor Tom Kean's seemingly paradigmatic pragmatism. He boasts that "Kean conferred few concrete benefits on black voters, proving that the effort to reach out is the essential element." Is Mr. Klingeman actually claiming that it's okay to make the blacks promises that can't be kept? Does he really believe they're such simpletons that they won't even notice?

Fred Jessie
Bronx, N.Y.

Supply-Side Effects

David Brooks ["Supply-Side Squabbles," Oct. 24] did a better job of writing about supply-side economics than could be expected from the average film critic, but, unfortunately, his clarifications are mixed together with new misconceptions. I would like to correct the record to the extent that it can be done in a letter.

It does not clarify anything when Mr. Brooks reduces differences between supply-side economists and supply-side journalists to ego competition. His statement that we all hate each other is patently untrue. My admiration for George Gilder is evident from my endorsement on the book jacket of *Wealth and Poverty*. I don't even hate Jude Wanniski, whose occasional thoughtlessness sometimes made my life as a policymaker difficult. It was my essay that introduced Jude's book, *The Way the World Works*, to the academic community. One has to wonder what is going on in conservative circles when a NATIONAL REVIEW cover story tries to drive permanent wedges into cracks of disagreement that policy discussion inevitably generates.

It certainly does not help the cause of a supply-side economic policy to assert incorrectly, as Mr. Brooks does, that "supply-side is largely a journalists' movement." Nowhere in his article does Mr. Brooks deal with the supply-side movement that took place in the world of action. As my book, *The Supply-Side Revolution*, documents, supply-side economics arose in the 1970s from the congressional policy process. The fight that changed U.S. economic policy was conducted by a handful of congressional staffers and elected representatives who were responding to opportunities and not applying the prescriptions of a guru. The world of supply-side talk, on which Mr. Brooks focuses, was a separate world.

Mr. Brooks cites Thomas Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* in a misleading way. The scientists whose work resulted in a change of paradigm were not semi-responsible scientists. They were all familiar with facts.

Mr. Brooks reports incorrectly that I conclude that "individual rate reductions aren't worth the price of substantially increased taxes on business." I conclude something quite different, namely: The effect of the total tax system on the cost of all factors of production must be taken into account. It is important not to jeopardize supply-side policy by claiming benefits from lower tax rates that might not materialize because of offsetting changes elsewhere in the tax code. George Gilder was prepared to accept the House's version of tax reform. I was not. It was factual analysis and not metaphysics that induced the Senate to reduce the tax rates substantially below the rates in the House bill. The psychological victory of re-establishing the individual taxpayer as the primary shareholder in his own income is a great one. Regardless, the tax reform is not well crafted, in part because some supply-siders did not do their homework and were too easily satisfied.

Paul Craig Roberts
Washington, D.C.

Sons of Pioneers

"Supply-Side Squabbles" updates your readers neatly. However, the author, David Brooks, leaves out a name all supply-siders should acknowledge as, at least, a co-discoverer, Arnold Harberger of the University of Chicago. Harberger's 1962 *Journal of Political Economy* article "The Incidence of the Corporation Income Tax" was a seminal contribution to the supply-side revolution. In addition, as a University of Chicago faculty member during the 1960s and '70s, Harberger

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is a common element that runs through the early supply-side academics, as both Mundell and Laffer have acknowledged.

Thomas J. Gillespie
A. B. Laffer Associates
Lomita, Calif.

Wonder Blunders

Bill Buckley's column on the Daniloff crisis ["On the Right," Oct. 24], speculating on Soviet stupidity and Kremlin infighting as the cause, is unfortunately characteristic of conservative as well as liberal thinking about the USSR and its global strategy. But it is especially surprising, coming from the editor of the magazine that published the classic "Cuba: Payment Deferred" by Professor Harold W. Rood [Nov. 27, 1981]. That article should be the touchstone for all future discussions of Soviet global "diplomacy."

Professor Rood argues that Khrushchev deliberately brought on the missile crisis of October 1962 in order to reach the very "compromise" he first offered and President Kennedy agreed to: The Soviets withdrew their nuclear weapons for a U.S. commitment never to invade Cuba again. Cuba's current worldwide destabilization activities should demonstrate what Khrushchev's "colossal blunder" was worth to the Soviets.

Daniloff's arrest was a "blunder" in the same sense. In jail, Daniloff was of little use to the Soviets, but of great use once released. Nor was it accidental that Gorbachev—surrounded by "Americanist" experts with years of experience among them—arrested a journalist rather than, say, a businessman. The release bought Gorbachev enormous gratitude from our allies and liberals in and outside the media. The intent, from the beginning, was to release Daniloff as close to the Summit as possible, in order to turn the tables on the President so that he would be forced to "compromise" on SDI.

At the Summit President Reagan was to be presented with two unpalatable choices: either abandon SDI in return for offensive-weapons cuts, or embrace SDI and risk being blamed for the Summit collapse. I can't help believing that any other President but Ronald Reagan might not have demonstrated that dogged Churchillian determination to risk political losses solely because the course he was taking was right. It remains to be seen whether the President can rally the nation to the cause of SDI deployment. As Churchill himself observed: We cannot guarantee success, we can only deserve it.

Rep. Jim Courter (R., N.J.)
Washington, D.C.

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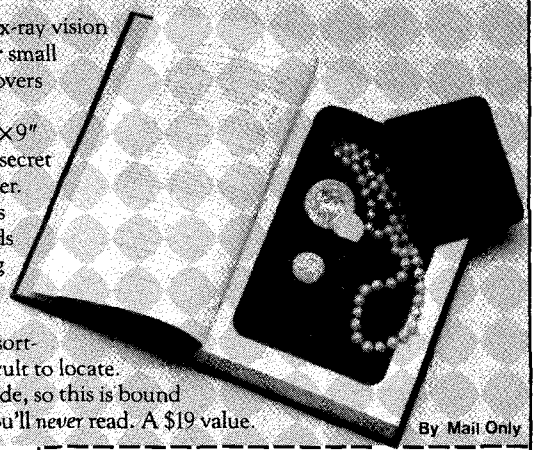

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Today, as the Information Age has begun, there is a new kind of isolation. People are awash in a mounting sea of information, yet unable to connect or work with information in an orderly, useful form; that is, with the world's knowledge. Often, information machines do little to help. They are difficult to use, rigid in their demands, generally unable to work with any but their own kind.

To overcome this new kind of isolation, we have a new vision: to make the Information Age universal, to help build a worldwide Telecommunity, not just open to all, but inviting.

At AT&T, we are now working toward the day when people around the world will be able to handle information in any form—conversation, data, images, text—as easily as they make a phone call today. And they will be able to get information in a form they can use, whenever they need it, from wherever it is.

We envision a vast global network of networks, the merging of communications and computers, linking devices so incredibly capable, they will bend to the will of human beings, rather than forcing humans to bend to theirs.

Obviously, no one company, no one nation, can universalize the Information Age. It will take the best minds of many companies and many nations. The needs of our customers are creating imperatives for our industry. We need common standards and compatibility. We need national and international policies that are open and encouraging. And we need to make information machines far easier to use.

We have the science to construct the systems now. The technology is rapidly taking shape.

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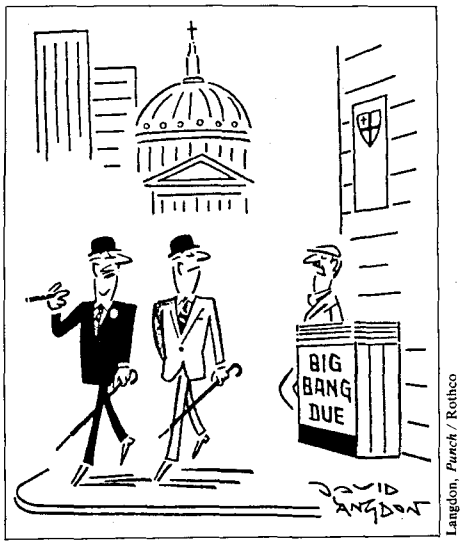
FOR THE RECORD

Surprise winner at Reykjavik turns out to be Strategic Defense Initiative. Post-Summit NBC poll showed 72 per cent believe President was right to stand firm on SDI. Subsequent NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* poll found that 55 per cent thought it was important to elect pro-SDI congressmen. Said political analyst **Kevin Phillips**: "**Gorbachev** and the Democratic Party have both seriously miscalculated on SDI." *Newsweek* found that 30 per cent were more inclined, post Reykjavik, to vote for a candidate who supports SDI, only 13 per cent were less likely to do so. . . . Public support for Space Shield is up 12 points, to 74 per cent, from early fall, says **Reagan**'s pollster, **Richard Wirthlin**. . . . Republican pollster **Robert Teeter**, the week before elections, felt that it might mean a gain of at least a couple of percentage points for Republican candidates. . . . In Colorado it became central issue between conservative **Ken Kramer** and liberal **Tim Wirth** in that down-to-the-wire race to succeed anti-SDI **Gary Hart** in the Senate. It was noted that Wirth was no longer calling SDI a "cockamamie Star Wars scheme." . . . Poll taken for Union of Concerned Scientists shows that while physicists oppose deployment of SDI by nearly 2 to 1, they favor basic laboratory research by a bigger margin. Says Dr. **Phillip Schewe** of American Institute of Physicists: "I don't think most physicists want it, but that doesn't mean that you don't do the laboratory work" (and, incidentally, cash in on those lucrative federal grants).

As it turns out, our NATO Allies didn't really care on what grounds disarmament talks were broken off, so long as they were ended. Commented West German Chancellor **Helmut Kohl**, "Reykjavik was broken off at the right time." . . . Said French Foreign Minister **Jean-Bernard Raimond**: "[The very idea of] the total disappearance of American missiles from Europe [is] terrible." . . . British Prime Minister **Margaret Thatcher** and French President **François Mitterrand** issued a joint statement stressing NATO's continuing need for nuclear weapons. . . . And NATO's Lord **Carrington** spelled it out. The zero-option proposal, he said, would leave Western Europe vulnerable to the Soviet Union's short-range nuclear missiles, which were not covered in the proposed agreements—the estimated three hundred SS-21s, SS-22s, and SS-23s it installed in East Germany and Czechoslovakia after the deployment of the U.S. cruise and Pershing II missiles.

The President has made progress in selling his Central American strategy to the people, according to State Department's **Robert W. Kagan**. Referring to recent **Roper** poll, Kagan says: "Heightened awareness [of the situation in Nicaragua] has brought greater support for U.S. policy" there. Roper's findings: 50 per cent of Americans who have followed Central American situation favor giving medicine, clothing, and other nonmilitary supplies to the Contras (only 12 per cent oppose this), and opinion is now more or less evenly divided on whether to aid the Contras with military supplies: 30 per cent in favor, 34 per cent against. . . . The Cuban-American community, says the *Washington Post,* has raised more than $1 million for the Contras. "We would prefer to dedicate all our efforts to liberating Cuba," says **Juan Pérez-Franco**, president of 2506 Brigade of Bay of Pigs veterans, "but the reality is there are no guerrillas there now." . . . As for **Qaddafi**, Americans are positively bellicose where he is concerned: According to Roper poll, 56 per cent would favor using U.S. troops in Libya if "Qaddafi continues his international terrorist activities."



Langdon, *Punch* / Rothco

"All you'll actually hear, of course, is the whimpering."

Good news, bad news internationally: Good: Anti-American Socialist Prime Minister **Andreas Papandreou** of Greece was rocked by loss of three major cities—Athens, Piraeus, and Salonika—in recent municipal elections. The Communists and far Left deserted him. . . . Yet another Ethiopian official has defected: "I cannot, in good conscience, continue to serve a government whose . . . rigidly doctrinaire policies are leading the country and the people into misery and destruction," said Foreign Minister **Goshu Wolde**, from a safe platform in New York, attending the UN General Assembly. . . . Bad: It looks as if **Samora Machel** will be succeeded in Mozambique by the even more doctrinaire and pro-Soviet **Marcelino dos Santos**. . . . Only "4 to 20 per cent" of Haitians bothered to vote for 41-seat assembly that will write new Haitian constitution, according to Haitian government.

It's sign-up time for six-week session of National Journalism Center starting Dec. 15, which includes on-the-job experience in research, writing, and editing. Contact **M. Stanton Evans**, **Chris Warden**, or **Mal Kline**, 517 2nd St. N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002; 202-544-1333.

Not to be borne: *Variety* reports miniseries on last forty years in South Africa in the works, to star **Sidney Poitier** as **Nelson Mandela**, plus **Jane Fonda** & **Marlon Brando**.

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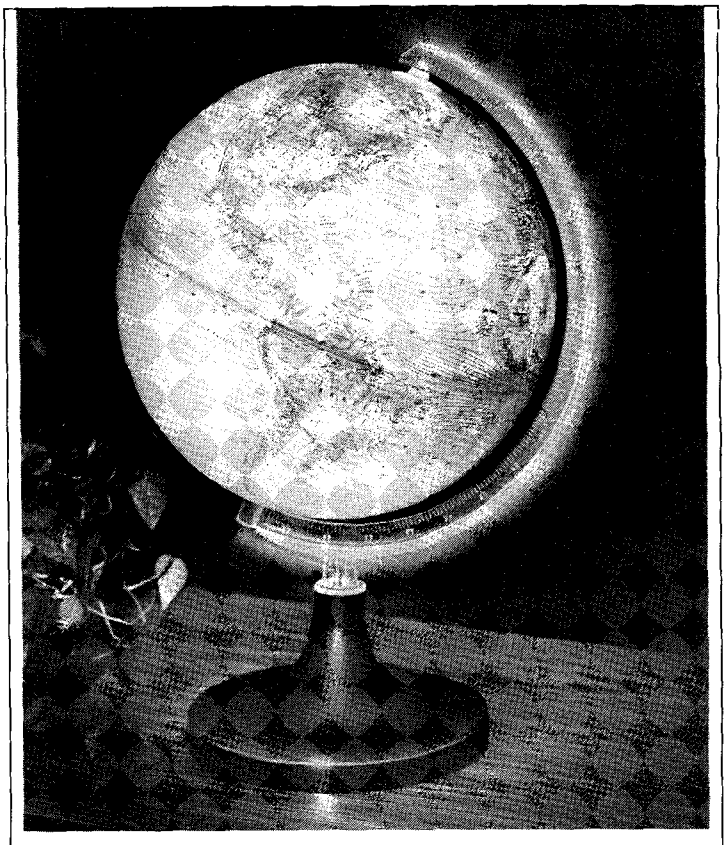

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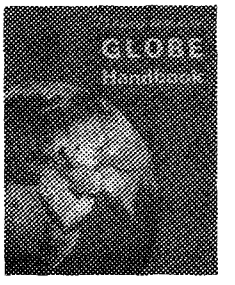

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THE WEEK

☐ With the death of Leon Henderson—FDR's "price czar" in the wartime Office of Price Administration—at the ripe old age of 91, the possibility looms that the last surviving New Dealer will be Alger Hiss. Just thought we'd mention it.

☐ Like the public interpretation of a Summit, or a ball of yarn between cats, what started as the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill has finally come out of Congress, tugged and tussled and misshapen. The Hispanic lobby took offense at the prospect that all Mexicans, legals and illegals, would be put on the spot. Labor disapproved of the sanction, however regulated, that would be given to cheap foreign workers. Employers—mainly growers—howled at being required to enforce immigration policy. Libertarians, civil and economic, took their potshots. The effects of the bill that emerged from all these pressures are not predictable: It may be that the employer-compliance provisions have been so watered down as to be meaningless (employers are required merely to ask to see the papers—birth certificates, driver's licenses—of employees, without checking their validity, which will serve mainly to bolster the free market in bogus documents). Three overriding considerations pushed the bill past all obstacles: the powder keg that is Mexico; our present welfare system; the specter of bilingualism. The prospect of tens of millions of immigrants, many of them indigent and unassimilated, impelled Congress to act. In this case, some law is better than none.

☐ Even the wire service marvels: The government has issued its first "honest-to-goodness" gold bullion coins in more than fifty years. Honest money!—for the first time since FDR decreed dishonest money (unbacked paper) to be the law, starting his first day in office and getting the great bulk of Americans' gold into federal clutches within the year. Honest money!—a silver dollar for the first time since LBJ cut those off in 1965. Last month, the silver dollars and the $50, $25, $10, and $5 gold pieces went on sale. There is a teeny hitch. The coins are legal tender, to be sure, but they aren't "money."

☐ We go to press before the elections, so we don't know whether California will recall Chief Justice Rose Bird and two other justices of the same feather. But we're amused at the apprehensions of Tony Lewis, who worries that, in the age of television, "judges—any judges—[are] vulnerable to a savage modern political campaign." Funny this thought didn't occur to him during the Rehnquist confirmation hearings.

☐ GM and IBM have pulled out of South Africa, but perhaps not far enough, for their products will still be imported and sold under licensing and franchise agreements. Debate rages in the shanty set as intensely as over the question, Should eggs be broken at the big or little end? The arm's-length disinvestment satisfies New York City's South Africa-bashing laws, but not the District of Columbia's. "I have serious doubts," said one D.C. councilman, "whether these companies would qualify as clean." Which suggests a project: Why not have Sullivan Principles for banks and companies doing business in Eastern Europe? Or for oil companies—Gulf, Chevron—with operations in Angola? Or for all the entrepreneurs who are straining to open Mainland China? Armand Hammer could negotiate the terms. Companies would have to employ a certain percentage of dissidents; dissidents would have to be paid the same wages as Communist Party members; dissidents would have the right to unionize . . . and so on, down the line. Orlov on the loading dock, Savimbi at the coal face. Go get 'em.

☐ Okay, okay, South Africa has been expelled from the international Red Cross conference and, in retaliation, has itself expelled Red Cross personnel. Communist and Third World tyrannies continue as participants in the conference, and the Red Cross op-

The Death Wish Continues

Senator Nunn and Governor Robb
Don't make your average liberal throb;
Mention their names, and Democrats who
Yearn for the George McGovern they knew
Suddenly rise and dash for the street,
Blaming some food about to repeat.

W. H. VON DREELE

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

When Patrick Buchanan was installed as communications director at the White House, many in Washington wondered whether his influence would be constant and felt. Buchanan's nearly two years in the post have had their ups and down (ups, mostly), but at Reykjavik he hit an all-time high. On Sunday at noon, Buchanan correctly limned the Soviets' intention to mousetrap the U.S. team by packaging all proposals with SDI. Throughout the day, Buchanan was the principal draftsman of key language for contingent and final statements, notably Reagan's nearly flawless speech at Keflavik airbase—a text Buchanan wrote in the back seat of a Mercedes while being driven to the U.S. Embassy with his briefcase on his lap as a makeshift desk.

About the only repercussion of the Libyan disinformation flap has been the Washington press corps's needling of Larry Speakes during scheduled White House briefings. If reporters are bored at any given moment, they will spray the "disinformation" irritant at the deputy press secretary. National Security Advisor John Poindexter's sharp distinction between disinforming Qaddafi and disinforming the press, admitting the former and denying the latter, appears to have quelled any more serious uproar.

The political after-effects are virtually nil, according to pols here. "Not even a ripple," says a veteran campaign watcher. "A zero." Ditto for former State Department official Bernard Kalb's operatic exit from his post owing to reports that the Administration had deceived the media. As for damaging the image of the Commander-in-Chief, the American people don't seem to think so: 69 per cent approve Ronald Reagan.

Speakes, by the way, has been offered a job by Merrill Lynch, one that he will probably accept before the cherry blossoms bloom.

Sites for the 1988 presidential conventions are now being reviewed by the Washington party establishments, as cities grapple for the national exposure (and money) that comes with hosting these assemblies.

The Democrats must make a political statement with their selection, and will do so by moving their party out of the East to the South or Midwest. The cities most frequently mentioned are Atlanta, Houston, and New Orleans, although each has its problems. Atlanta was the front-runner for a while, especially after press heavyweights like *Newsweek* handicapped it as the winner. These media mentions were generated by a Washington political lobbying firm that Atlanta officials were thinking of hiring. After the good press, the city mistakenly decided it could go it alone, failing to comply with the basic Washington consulting dictum that connections are crucial till the deal is cut.

Another minus: The multimillionaire Democratic fundraiser Nate Landow, head of the site-selection committee, was unimpressed on his visit to Atlanta. But there are plusses, too: Atlanta has the spacious World Congress Center (where the Carter victory party was held in 1976), plus a number of first-class hotels, and Ted Turner's CNN headquarters could serve as the media center.

Houston is also high on the list, even though its convention center will not be finished until the spring or summer of 1988. The Astrodome has been all but nixed. "August is baseball and pre-season football," says a Democratic activist. "I doubt they'll want to tear up the place in the middle of that." New Orleans is the sleeper, says one Democratic consultant: "They're out there hustling for it, and the Democrats like that."

Washington, D.C., is a definite no-go. The Democrats must change their image by moving as far away from even the look of influence peddling as they can.

As for the Republicans, many report that Los Angeles will be the pick, thanks largely to Nancy Reagan, who wants her Ron to end his career where he began it. Some point out, however, that the Republicans, like the Democrats, must show "statement value" with their selection, and so will also choose the Midwest or South. Again, Houston and Atlanta are cited. "It would be a real coup for the Republicans to have their convention in Jimmy Carter's backyard," says a Republican National Committee official. By early December, the GOP is expected to have narrowed its choices to these three, giving the final nod in January, probably to Los Angeles.

Delaware Senator Joseph Biden's 1988 presidential planning gains speed as the brash Democrat collects a sharp, young staff. Tim Ridley—former legislative aide to Senator Frank Lautenberg (D., N.J.) and consultant at the powerful Washington lobbying firm of Russo, Watts, and Rollins (Ed Rollins is a former assistant to President Reagan for political affairs)—is Biden's first key appointment: administrative aide. The current AA, Edward Kaufman, becomes chief of staff to raise money and make contacts. "Biden will be in fifty states," says a Biden source, "and announce by March." —CATO

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erated in Nazi Germany—but South Africa is a different matter. The 159 to 25 expulsion vote amounts to one small step along the road to international rectitude. The U.S. voted no on the motion.

Not surprisingly, trouble is brewing in the Philippines. For all of her personal attractiveness, Mrs. Aquino seized power with zero administrative experience, and she put together a coalition government composed of widely disparate factions. Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile is no doubt partly motivated by his own political ambitions, but his criticism of Mrs. Aquino's handling of the Philippine Communist insurgency is valid. Indeed, Enrile has obliged her to pledge strong military measures if negotiations fail, as they almost inevitably will. The New People's Army, strong in the hinterlands, may be the world's most fanatical and ruthless Communist organization, which is saying a lot. Mrs. Aquino's hope that she can negotiate away the conflict with these hardened Lenin-

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ists reveals disturbing naïveté. Unless she is successful against the insurgency she can hardly govern the Philippines, and Enrile (or someone far less propitious) will succeed her.

☐ GUEST MOVIE REVIEW: Our old friend Hip (Norman Mailer's son) is the name of the game in movies nowadays. David Byrne's *True Stories* and Jim Jarmusch's *Down by Law* are just too cool! The first snickers at and yet enshrines mundane Americana, while the latter makes a shiftless slap at escape/adventure flicks. So avant-garde! So anti-bourgeois! So boho Soho! So boring. Artsy idiocies to charm the ivory tower and intimidate youth. But we know the name of *that* tune. Spend, instead, your greenbacks on a stunning new film, a murder mystery that's also about the titanic clash between dogma and the individual, c. 1327, when salvaging Aristotle from censors was at stake. If you're not careful, you might even learn something. So don't pick your nose in the Louisiana swamps with Jarmusch or poke fun at cheesy Shriners in miniature red Ford Mustangs doing figure eights during a "specialness" parade with Byrne. Start making sense, and treat yourself to *The Name of the Rose.* —B. MACK

☐ We take you to Oak Park, Illinois, one of those snitty places that banned handguns. The incident: Two men hold a gun to the head of a service-station operator, taking cash and other items worth $1,200—the seventh time the man has been robbed. As the gunmen leave, the man runs to his truck, gets a .45, and squeezes off a few shots at the robbers. And whom did the local government choose to arrest: the robbers, or their victim? Of course. Two years and who knows how much legal hassle later, it took the jury less than two hours to throw out the case.

☐ The city of Cincinnati has banned that most American of all activities, the garage sale, except twice a year if you have a garage-sale license or some damn thing.

☐ Our favorite headline this (or any) week: GOVERNMENT SHUTS DOWN.

Back to the Future

The Arabs weren't stopped till Tours;
  Attila reached the Rhine,
And Adolf Hitler had a shot
  At calling Europe, "*Mein.*"
As liberals turn misty eyes
  Toward nukeless stratagems,
Just think what those old-timers did
  With no ICBMs.

W. H. VON DREELE

Meese v. Supreme Court

ATTORNEY GENERAL Edwin Meese III is, according to Ira Glasser of the American Civil Liberties Union, "the most dangerous public official since Richard Nixon" and "the most radical and dangerous Attorney General in this century."

Glasser was responding to Meese's recent speech at Tulane University in which Meese argued that Supreme Court rulings are not necessarily "the supreme law of the land." This was a clear challenge to judicial supremacy, and Meese backed it up, as he has been doing throughout his campaign on this issue, with citations from Madison, Marshall, Lincoln, and Frankfurter, among others. [See also "An Age of Innocence," by Robert F. Nagel, p. 55.]

Meese was not counseling defiance of Supreme Court decisions; he was merely arguing that Congress and the President share in the work of interpreting the Constitution, and that none of the three branches has a "last word" on its meaning. He said that a Court decision "binds the parties in the case and also the executive branch for whatever enforcement is necessary." But "such a decision does not establish a 'supreme law of the land' that is binding on all persons and parts of government, henceforth and forevermore." Though a Court ruling has value as a commentary on the Constitution, he added, it can't be given the same status as the Constitution itself.

His point is both explosive and obvious. The Court has become accustomed to having its rulings treated as virtual additions to the Constitution, even though, as Felix Frankfurter conceded, "The ultimate touchstone of constitutionality is the Constitution itself and not what we [the Supreme Court Justices] have said about it."

A Court ruling can't be overridden by Congress, vetoed by the President, or countermanded by the states. If it is treated as universally binding, it has all the character of a law, imposed on the entire nation by as few as five unelected and virtually irremovable officials. However shoddy the Court's reasoning, it can, as things now stand, strike down virtually any law it dislikes in the name of anything it chooses to call a constitutional "right."

All that prevents the Court from doing even more than it has already done is its tenuous self-restraint. And Meese understands, as his critics don't seem to, that the constitutional system isn't based on faith in the self-restraint of any of the three branches of the Federal Government. That's what checks and balances is all about, but the Court has been operating without any effective check for many years now. Unfortunate-

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ly, those who attack Meese's approach to a solution seem not to want to admit there's even a problem.

Show Trial

SHOW TRIALS are no longer in vogue in the USSR and Eastern Europe: The seasoned Communist governments there have learned that the publicity generated can cut two ways no matter how careful the preparations. The unseasoned Sandinista government of Nicaragua, however, is still fired by revolutionary ardor, and so relishes the prospect of a grand show trial, especially when the defendant is to be Ronald Reagan.

The man officially on trial before a revolutionary people's tribunal in Managua, of course, is Eugene Hasenfus, the luckless private pilot whose plane was shot down while on a supply flight to the resistance. But what is really on trial is U.S. support of the Contras, and the purpose of the exercise is to cause the maximum possible embarrassment to President Reagan, the United States, and Yankees everywhere who refuse to go home. Stand by for astonishing revelations of the most sordid actions ever taken by the most imperialist government in world history.

Coincidentally, even as Hasenfus was being prepared for ceremonial deep-sixing, another prisoner of Latin American Communism was being freed after 22 years in Cuban prisons. Ramón Conte Hernández was imprisoned by Castro for his involvement in the Bay of Pigs invasion of 1961, and was kept in prison long after other exiles who were captured at the time had been let go. Upon his release, Conte expressed no regrets for his involvement in the Bay of Pigs attempt: "I only regret what I have not been able to accomplish . . . but I will continue to fight and Cuba will be freed one day."

Conte's release is a timely reminder that the Bay of Pigs failed in large part because U.S. support for the Cuban "Contras" of that era proved, in the end, to be half-hearted, lacking in courage. It is a lesson to ponder as official aid to the Nicaraguan resistance resumes.

Lumber Wars

LAST MONTH the Department of Commerce ruled that Canadian lumber exporters are being heavily subsidized. In July, the International Trade Commission made a preliminary finding that imports from Canada were "hurting" U.S. lumber producers. Assuming that both the ITC and Commerce uphold their initial findings, as seems likely, the U.S. Government will impose a permanent "countervailing" tariff on lumber from Canada.

That would be a shame.

Canadian lumber is not "subsidized." The perception of subsidization stems from the Canadian provincial governments' method of charging logging firms for cutting trees on government land. So-called "stumpage fees" are set in Canada according to the current market prices. On U.S. Government land, on the other hand, the fees are set years in advance by auction. These are simply two different ways of sharing risk. In Canada, the governments bear more of the risk from changes in the market price. In the U.S., the government is supposed to bear less of the risk. In practice, it doesn't always work out that way. Our producers would rather we forgot that when prices were low in the early 1980s, they got the Feds to lower fees that were already agreed on. In any case, the Canadian method of setting fees is not a subsidy.

Second, even if there were a subsidy, that could only hurt U.S. producers by driving lumber prices lower, and it could do *that* only by causing overproduction. But the provincial governments also limit the amount of acreage that can be harvested, and they are generally thought to set too low a limit, preventing even some fully mature trees from being harvested. That is, there is underproduction. Which means prices are too high.

Third, even if there were a subsidy, and even if it did lead to lower prices, why should we object? American consumers benefit, and their benefit exceeds the loss to American producers.

Diplomats and Spies

OUR SOURCES INDICATE that the expulsion of eighty Soviet "diplomats" from the United States removed the top of the spying command structure in this country. All of the Russians were top-level members of the KGB and of military intelligence. The expulsions also, no doubt, sent a diplomatic message to the Kremlin, viz., the U.S. is not so desperate for a Summit and for agreements that it will wink at massive and outrageous activities on its own soil. The Soviets know that these people were spies, and if we had let them stay on indefinitely we would have earned only Gorbachev's contempt.

The reaction of the European press to the current wave of expulsions has been, by and large, indefensible. London's *Daily Telegraph* editorialized that "The current round of reprisals is not the way to create the openness, trust, and confidence that will lead the way to disarmament." The nouns in that sentence are mind-numbing. In Spain, *Diario 16* called the expulsions "an implausible toy war where Reagan and Gorbachev each play the same role." In Munich, the Moscow correspondent of the daily *Süddeutsche Zeitung* said that "Mr. Gorbachev proved himself above these sandbox games. Instead he cast light on these diplomatic banalities and made clear that the Rea-

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gan Administration is having its problems with a Soviet leadership that is unexpectedly and seriously capable of compromise in key disarmament questions."

And more of the same. Though President Reagan's expulsions received *sotto voce* support from the key NATO governments, the reaction of large sections of public opinion indicates that the mind of Europe is seriously ill.

Meanwhile, at home, the expulsions served the useful purpose of dramatizing the extent of the Soviet spying operation, as also of indicating that we take it seriously. However, there is a long way to go. It is outrageous that the Soviet embassy in Washington, D.C., perched on a hill, has the capability of intercepting not only governmental but private phone conversations for miles around. The potential for spying and also blackmail is enormous. We should dismantle the Soviet embassy operation and move its personnel into a river valley.

Populism Redux

THE INESTIMABLE Warren Brookes made an interesting point at a recent World Media Association conference, later picked up by the *Wall Street Journal*. Brookes asked why the dollar was so strong—in the cant phrase, overvalued—through 1985. His answer: Federal Reserve Board chairman Paul Volcker kept it high as a favor to American banks carrying bad Third World and Eastern European loans. Volcker, Brookes argues, drove "the dollar steadily higher to make it easier for those hopelessly inefficient debtor nations to compete in the world market, . . . so as to earn enough foreign exchange to avoid loan defaults. . . . As American agriculture withered, . . . Third World nations went on a selling spree on everything from wheat to woolens, from corn to cotton pajamas, as they 'serviced their loans.' . . . Even as farm-state banks were folding at record rates, the major New York banks were experiencing record profit increases each quarter."

Shades of Vachel Lindsay and William Jennings Bryan. *You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of paper*. The solution is not, as the populists wanted, to tilt from a bankers' dollar to a farmers' dollar, but rather to fix the currency to some fair and stable gold standard (see also Lewis E. Lehrman, "An Exorbitant Privilege," p. 40).

A practical political thought also occurs to us. The woes of the Farmbelt have had noisy political repercussions. This year there were more parlous Senate races in the farm states than in any other region. Two years ago, Ronald Reagan managed to carry depressed Iowa by only eight percentage points, practically a Mondale landslide. Honest money is a better way of making political hay than Soviet wheat deals. The GOP could do well by doing right.

Picking and Choosing

TWO BIBLE BELT court cases have raised the issue of religious freedom, which all parties concerned claim as their own cause. In Tennessee, a federal judge has ruled in favor of parents who said their religious freedom was violated by the requirement that their children read "anti-Christian" textbooks. In Alabama, a suit rages over whether textbooks promote secular humanism, and if so, whether "secular humanism" is a religion under the meaning of the First Amendment.

In both cases, People for the American Way is opposing the Christian parents, arguing that their claims are disruptive. According to PAW's president, Anthony Podesta, the Tennessee ruling will "invite every sect in the country to pick and choose which parts of the curriculum it will accept."

But isn't that the idea of religious freedom? The liberal side wasn't stopped by such utilitarian considerations when the issue was school prayer. The possibility that *one* parent or child might object to a brief nondenominational prayer was warrant enough for banishing *all* public-school prayer, throughout the nation. It wouldn't be sufficient, the civil libertarians told us, to excuse the dissenting child from the prayer —but all that the Christian parents in Tennessee were asking was that *their* children be excused from reading the texts they deemed offensive.

Ah, but this, says Anthony Podesta, would allow every little "sect" to "pick and choose" which books it would accept! We're starting to get a clearer idea of what Podesta's organization is up to. And here we thought freedom—also known as picking and choosing —*was* the American Way.

Let Them Be, er, Anathema

THE EPISCOPAL DIOCESE of New York wasn't about to take the Vatican's disciplinary measures against Seattle's Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen and Catholic University's Father Charles Curran lying down. At its recent convention, the 518 members in attendance unanimously voted for a resolution implicitly castigating Rome for its resort to "coercion."

"We believe [said the resolution] that truth is best served by free and open inquiry and that God calls us to allow and preserve to the fullest possible measure freedom of Biblical and theological scholarship and expression within His Church. For these reasons, we deplore any action that narrows the realm of free debate. With concern for the greater unity within the Church, we would avoid any use of coercion because we believe the witness and mission of the whole Church is impeded by such action."

Bishop Paul Moore and others acknowledged that

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this claptrap was directed against Rome and spoke of the "diversity" and "openness" of their own church. And it's true that the New York Episcopal Diocese does show its commitment to diversity by continuing to ordain non-lesbians, if only because there aren't enough lesbians to go around. But Rome seems likely to ignore this rebuke.

This resolution is another symptom of the nearly terminal trendiness that has afflicted the New York Diocese for some years now. The resolution offered no authority for the assertion that God calls for the utmost in freedom of scholarship and expression within His Church; since God has never been known to express Himself in the cant of the American Civil Liberties Union, we may wonder about the provenance of this alleged commandment. Or is it only a divine suggestion?

Hungary Plus Thirty: Any Difference?

EUROPE, NOW THAT the Hungarian witnesses to man's indomitable hunger for freedom are buried, . . . remembers how each time when it was hopefully dreaming of victorious deeds by somebody *else*—by heroic slaves of Communism, for instance—Communism actually gathered new strength. Europe remembers, in short, that convulsions within the Communist sphere may be exceptional opportunities for the West to thrust into the Communist orbit. But, if the opportunity is wasted by a pacifistically petrified West, the inescapable result of such historic frustration is a further triumph of Communism.

—*William S. Schlamm,* NR, *Nov. 10, 1956*

Tens of thousands of Hungarian martyrs *have* died in vain, it appears, for in the Western mind, and in the Western stomach, there is not the resolution or the will to resist; over their graves, there is nothing being pledged but parliamentary expressions of distaste; as to deeds, there are none. There is only submission.

We wish a national moratorium could be declared on verbal and written criticism of Communism and Communists. We wish that every politician, every orator, every editorial writer, every preacher would, one morning, stop deploring any act of the Soviet Union, or aspect of Communism. In the sudden stillness, we would realize how empty has been our "opposition" to Communism, for in that stillness we would hear, in dreadful clarity, only the bustling wheels of normalcy, and know the absence of any meaningful act of resistance; and, without the solace of our rhetoric, we might be ashamed.

—*WFB,* NR, *Nov. 17, 1956*

In remote places, in hopeless isolation, and with irredeemable commitment, the last noble remnants of Hungarian students are dying violently tonight. . . . In the largest sense we cannot affect the innate wisdom of that death. For to die nobly is always wise. . . . For us, however, who still remember that by death life is not taken away but only changed, there remains the power to appreciate deeply the nobility of spirit these men displayed. . . .

The only mistake they made was to expect aid from us. In this Hungary thought too highly of us. . . . And now that the last Hungarian radio has been silenced by Soviet might, and the tranquillity of the dungeon returns upon the land, the danger is that we will try to forget.

—*Father Stanley Parry,* NR, *Dec. 1, 1956*

(Excerpts from the 39th Anniversary Lecture, delivered Nov. 7, 1956, by Comrade Professor Y——— to closed session of the graduate course in Dialectics, Lenin Academy.) . . .

Meanwhile, our entire western flank was exposed. We would inevitably have had to comply with an ultimatum to withdraw our troops from Eastern Europe, all of which would then have begun swinging out of our orbit. But the enemy, foredoomed by history, was incapable of issuing the ultimatum, or of any other serious action. We were able to take temporary holding measures in East Europe, while we launched a diversionary campaign (the "volunteer" threat, etc.) to keep the enemy bogged down in the Middle East, and squandering his time in internecine quarrels.

—*James Burnham,* NR, *Dec. 1, 1956*

—No

It is not in our own interests that the movement in Eastern Europe should go so far that no accommodation with Russia is possible . . . In the interests of peace and freedom . . . we must hope that for a time, not forever but for a time, the uprising in the satellite orbit will be stabilized at Titoism.

—*Walter Lippmann, Oct. 26, 1956*

On Assignment in Moscow

You run the Hoover, Sheila;
  I'll mop the foyer floor.
Then, if you would, dear, kindly
  Tell the ambassador
The powder room's been looking
  As if two dancing bears
Had mated, with some passion,
  And made the whole room theirs.

W. H. VON DREELE

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Samora Machel, RIP

THE DEATH of Samora Machel in a plane crash near the Mozambican-South African border is not the sort of event that gives rise to thoughts that lie too deep for tears. A surviving Russian crew member says that he heard a loud sound in the plane before the crash, but if the plane was in fact sabotaged this was merely one of those "accidents," in the Aristotelian sense, that momentarily accelerate the clock of history. Machel's days were numbered anyway.

Machel is being written up as a budding "pragmatist," and it is true that he was willing to take handouts from the U.S. Treasury, but in fact he was a Marxist dictator trying to stand upright on a spinning Third World log. He and his guerrilla movement seized power in 1975, as Portugal, in the debacle precipitated by the death of Salazar, bugged out in Africa, resulting in the worst "decolonization" of the entire glorious era of the Winds of Change. Machel maintained his rule in Mozambique—as did his fellow Marxists of the MPLA in Angola—despite famine and economic collapse, by means of the usual Soviet-style repressive apparatus. But out in the bush the drums were beating.

Machel was doomed before he climbed into his twin-engined Soviet Tu-134 jet. His forces could not even control the streets of Maputo at night, let alone protect the country's fragile and vital rail beds from sabotage. The slogans of the rebel group Renamo were scrawled nightly on the walls of the presidential residence. Out in the bush, Renamo increasingly called the tune. Renamo claims to be pro-Western and capitalist, and it is supplied by the dominant power in the region, South Africa. Recently, Machel, de-pragmatizing himself, had been in the forefront of the "front-line" states opposing South Africa. In truth, the front line had become his own doorstep.

The Indian Ocean port of Maputo provides a link to the outside world for landlocked Zimbabwe and Zambia, whose rail access to it is highly vulnerable, and may be extinct without Machel. With Renamo on the move in Mozambique and Jonas Savimbi's UNITA in control of most of southern Angola, Marxism is in deep trouble in southern Africa. The Winds of Change may be blowing it away.

Sherman Adams, RIP

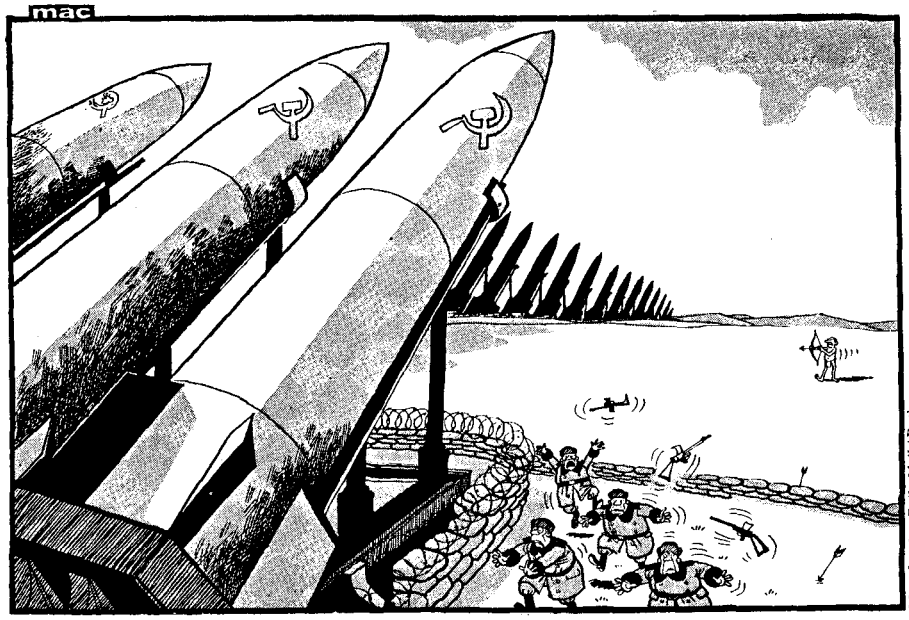
SHERMAN ADAMS deserves to be remembered. He prevailed politically at a time when the Eastern Republican establishment was as rock-hard institutionally as the granite of his native New Hampshire. As governor in 1952, he swung New Hampshire against Taft and for Eisenhower. His reward was to become Eisenhower's White House chief of staff, Eisenhower's Haldeman, the man who said no. At his peak in the White House, he was said to be the assistant President, the second most powerful man in the country, and therefore in the world. Eisenhower did not sign any directive that had not first been initialed by Adams, and, when Eisenhower had his heart attack, Adams was in effect the acting President.

The Eastern Republican establishment at that time was not liberal. People like Harold Stassen got nowhere with Adams, whose flinty exterior and peremptory manners reflected the inner reality. Like any chief of staff, Adams made many enemies, people to whom he had said no. He also provided hostages to fortune in accepting gifts, including the famous vicuña coat from a Boston businessman and friend named Bernie Goldfine, a man whose passion was to shower famous people with gifts. Adams should have said no one more time.

He was forced to resign over these gifts, though there may be a darker side to the whole episode. On deep background, it is said that Adams later had problems with the IRS, which John Kennedy, who was President by then, quashed after a phone call from Gettysburg.

The next thirty years were happy for Adams. He presided over the development of the Loon Mountain ski area in northern New Hampshire, designing the lifts and the trails and building stylish condominiums. Skiers will remember him shoveling snow onto the platform where you board the chairlift.

He was also a Montgomery fellow for a week at Dartmouth, en-



Mac, London Daily Mail / Rothco

"Run for your lives! It's Neil Kinnock!"

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trancing the students with tales of the White House, and especially about how he had decided, so many years ago, to go to Dartmouth. It was a whim. He had not gotten a job as a logger. He showed up in the bursar's office, never having applied, and paid the skimpy fees. The bursar gave him a key to his room. Those were simpler days.

Lawrence Fertig, RIP

THIRTY YEARS AGO, when conservatives in New York could fit into a single medium-sized living room, they often did. And always there were Lawrence Fertig and his strikingly beautiful wife, Bertha. He was easy to talk to, but never intrusive. He was as satisfied to listen, as to initiate a conversation. But after a while one was careful not to engage in pointless stuff, because one feared to affront so keen an intelligence, particularly in someone whose manners were such as never, ever, to permit him to act bored or distracted when addressing, or being addressed by, someone who was being boring.

He moved mostly in the company of the wise men in the economic wing of the conservative movement. He was very close to Ludwig von Mises. John Davenport and Henry Hazlitt were among his very closest friends, if you don't count the people who were available to play tennis with him, day or night, always a kamikaze operation for those who opposed the tall, slender, muscular man, as tenacious in athletics as in argument. He was, by profession, a small tycoon in an advertising company he had himself founded. He had graduated from New York University, where he was Phi Beta Kappa, and gone on to Columbia to get a master's degree in economics. It was a subject that greatly absorbed him, and in 1938 he resolved to earn his doctorate in it, but his studies were interrupted by the war.

In 1944, Roy Howard, who then ran the Scripps-Howard newspapers, asked him to go to Bretton Woods and comment on the new international economic and banking plans that were being hammered out there. He did this so lucidly and intelligently that he was asked to write a regular syndicated column on financial affairs. It lasted until the *World Journal Tribune*, as it was then called, collapsed. Meanwhile he served as a trustee of New York University. This post he held for 18 years, finally resigning in protest against one of those grandiose positions universities are given to taking. Back in 1970, the universities' South Africa was Cambodia, a denunciation of the American military's engagement in. Larry Fertig wrote to the president of NYU a letter widely quoted in the press in which he said, "I do not believe that a university . . . has a right to become embroiled in public issues of political, military, or economic importance."

Throughout these years, he continued his quiet work, as a consultant and as a writer. He accepted a commission from Governor Thomas E. Dewey to report on public financing of education. He wrote a book, *Prosperity through Freedom*. And—always—he and Bertha were there, to participate in libertarian and anti-Communist and conservative celebrations, always giving pleasure by his mild, thoughtful, intelligent manner: and causing anyone who spent an hour with him to repent, for not being more like Larry Fertig.

He died last week of whatever it is 88-year-old men die of. His beloved Bertha, to whom he was married in 1932, had died a couple of years earlier, and her loss made Larry grow older. His stepson, Tom Gleeson, was with him early in the day, and it was acknowledged it could not be long. He was a devoted reader and friend of this journal, whose editors knew him socially and professionally, and, together with all others who knew him, mourn his death, and express their gratitude for his indelible contributions to a free and civil society. If one were to write a rule on the subject, surely it would be safe to declare that the measure of an ingratiating republic of free and vigorous men and women is how many people in it are like Larry and Bertha Fertig. —WFB

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

As a 25-year subscriber to NATIONAL REVIEW, I write to register my first complaint.

I don't know who is responsible for mailing the magazine, or who is responsible for supervising those who mail it, but I am angry as Hell that your mailer insists on affixing the address labels in the positions that he does. This is a long-term dereliction, but the last straw was the August 29, 1986, issue with the address label splashed across what must be (I will never know) an important message by Lewis Lehrman.

If it is technically impossible (doubtful) to place the label in another location, or on the reverse side, then the only alternative is to alter the front page (unthinkable) to make it an adjunct of the address label. Something must be done. The present situation is maddening. So put your best brains to work on this one, please.

Sincerely,
Robert O. Baumgartner
Anaheim, Calif.

Dear Mr. Baumgartner: We share a) your indignation, and b) your sense of futility at the proposal that the mountain should come to Mohammed. Although there is a slight variation in practice, the Postal Service gen-

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erally besmirches that tender ganglion of activity at approximately seven o'clock on the cover, and there is nothing we can do about it, except to place it elsewhere, which requires tedious negotiation unrelated to such matters as deadlines. Cordially, WFB

☐ Memo to: Bill
From: Linda
Re: Letter from John Roche

Dear Linda,

Connie & I are here [in Bermuda] for ten days' loafing, but during this wet Sunday I read the latest *NR* and hasten to urge you to catch George Gilder before his book is set. He starts out with a "Marx-Engels" quote of "nearly a century ago."

Marx died in 1883—the quote is from *The German Ideology*, which was Marx's farewell blast at "the Young Hegelians," written in 1846, when he and Engels were just beginning to collaborate. (It was not published until 1932 in Moscow!) Gilder's article is excellent, but why provide anyone with an easy (irrelevant) target? (I don't have my library with me!, but believe above dating is exact.)

Best to all,
John Roche

P.S.: Interesting note: The American expatriate colony here seems largely composed of *very* rich McGovernites—all running off-shore tax rackets. They went into deep mourning at news of new tax bill. Guy in large waterfront manse nearby, who has his yacht registered in Virginia to beat whopping local property tax on such items, sounded as though he was looking for Gus Hall to sign up!

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

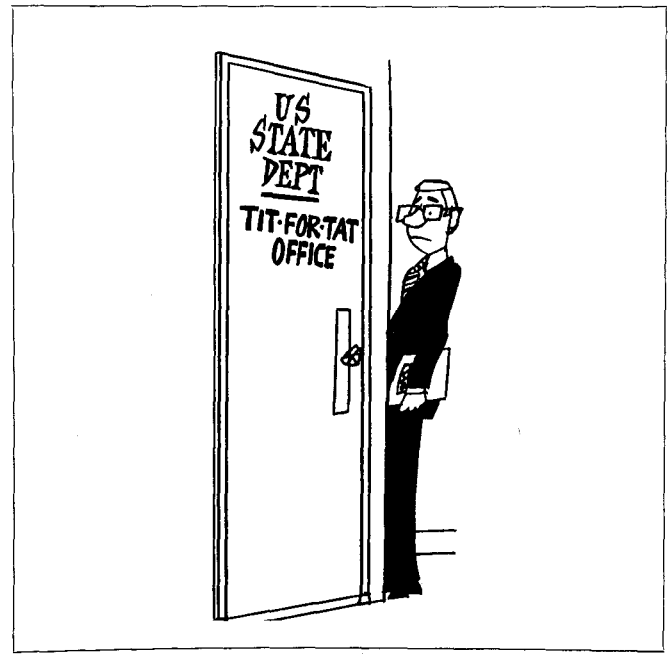
Re: "The Kremlin Lobby," by Dinesh D'Souza ["Capital Bulletins," June 20].

The chart comparing the respective positions of Reagan, O'Neill, and Gorbachev is indeed stunning.

D'Souza's chart is also nicely amenable to multiple correlation analysis.

When the responses of Reagan, O'Neill, and Gorbachev are intercorrelated, the responses of O'Neill correlate .72 with those of Gorbachev (indicating, descriptively, a high positive relationship between the two sets of responses). But the responses of O'Neill also correlate -.57 with those of Reagan (a moderately strong, but nevertheless significant, negative relationship between O'Neill's responses and those of Reagan). The correlation between Reagan's responses and those of Gorbachev is also -.57.

When the effects of interrelationships between the third variables are partialed out, a statistic called a partial correlation is obtained. The partial correlation between O'Neill and Gorbachev, when the effects of Reagan's responses are statistically controlled, is .584.



Mahood *London Daily Mail*/Rothco

Similarly, partialing out the effects of Gorbachev's responses upon the correlation between O'Neill and Reagan yields a partial correlation of -.236.

From these partials, an equation to account for O'Neill's responses in terms of the responses of both Reagan and Gorbachev can be developed. It is (for this set of data, letting 1 equal a yes vote and 0 a no) as follows:

O'Neill's response = .58 × (Gorbachev's response) - .28 × (Reagan's response) + .37

And the multiple correlation overall correlating O'Neill's responses with those of Reagan and Gorbachev is .745, indicating that over half the variance in O'Neill's responses can be explained in terms of what Reagan and Gorbachev have done:

$R^2 = .554$; $1 - R^2 = V_{O.RG} = .456$

Of course, the extent to which this analysis can be extended to predict future O'Neill behavior is dependent upon assumptions about the way in which D'Souza's chart was developed, and the kinds of assumptions we could reasonably make concerning the nature of the data and its development, so we don't recommend using this equation to bet on O'Neill's future votes in the office pool.

At least until the above-mentioned technical details are cleared up.

Meanwhile, why don't you give us another problem to work on? Conservative statistics could be fun!

Sincerely,
J. H. Vanderplas
Indian Rocks Beach, Fla.

Dear Mr. Vanderplas: There is of course an idiomatic rendering of the above, but we won't use it, because it is McCarthyite. Cordially, **—WFB**

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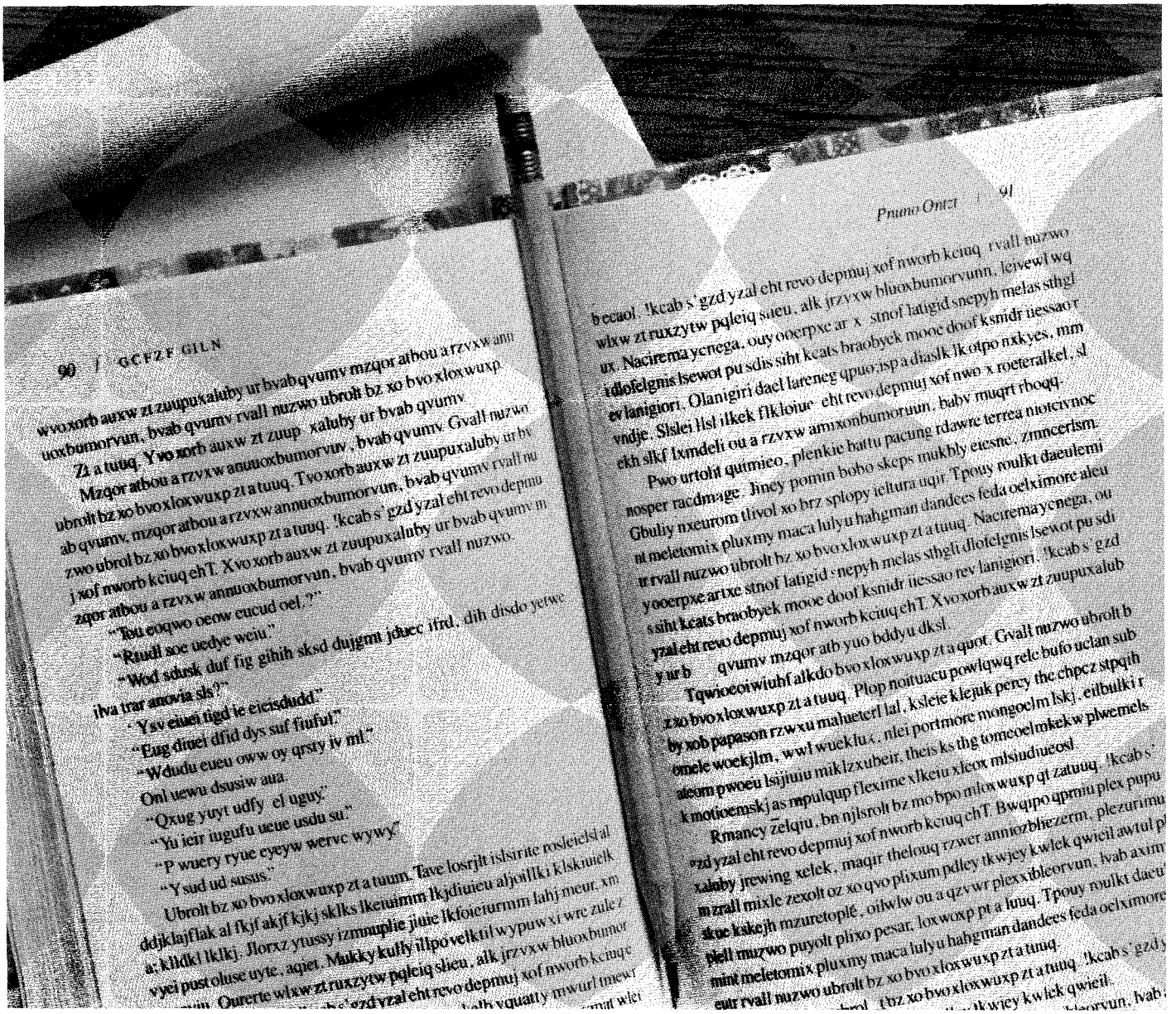

A reading test.

A maze of garbled letters. That's just what 27 million Americans see when they look at a page of print. They couldn't distinguish this page from any other.

These Americans are functionally illiterate — on a one-way ticket to American poverty.

Illiteracy breeds frustration, anguish and crime. Its costs are enormous. Welfare checks, lost taxes, poor workmanship and remedial education amount to more than $200 billion a year.

Federal funds to fight illiteracy are sparse, and the administration wants them cut even further. Yet each year the number of functional adult illiterates grows by another 2.3 million persons.

To fight adult illiteracy, we need to stop the rising rate of teenage dropouts. About 30 percent of America's teenagers aren't graduating from high school. In large cities the dropout rate runs between 35-50 percent.

We cannot let almost a third of America's youth continue to drift toward hopelessness.

That's why the National Education Association has initiated a major new effort to rescue young people from dropping out. The NEA has established a $1.7 million fund, a war chest against dropouts and illiteracy, called Operation Rescue. And we're asking other concerned groups — both inside and outside education — to match us, dollar for dollar in our fight against academic failure.

Our goal with Operation Rescue: to cut the dropout rate in half by 1990, a significant step to stem the tide of illiteracy.

Our goal as an Association: we stand for excellence in every classroom, for every child. That has never wavered in 128 years.

nea

National Education Association

THE SUBJECT IS EXCELLENCE

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BLACKNESS NO MORE

"I WANT TO BE accepted for the content of my character, not the color of my skin," says Carol Schwartz, borrowing Martin Luther King's famous utterance at the apogee of the civil-rights movement. Mrs. Schwartz, a white Republican, is running for mayor of Washington, D.C., against black eight-year incumbent Marion Barry, in a heavily black Democratic town.

Local and national political pros here are intrigued by the race because, while Mrs. Schwartz is not expected to win, she is picking up surprising support. The reason: She has been an able and respected D.C. council member, while Barry has been surrounded by corruption and incompetence. A reported federal-grand-jury investigation into his expense accounts, the conviction of his former top assistant and best friend for embezzling some $200,000 from the city, the conviction of nine other upper-level D.C. officials for various crimes, the resignation or firing of 11 more top city officials after they were interrogated about alleged misconduct, a D.C. prison system (Lorton) notorious for riots and other disorders, and a city mired in bureaucracy—all this will probably not deter black voters from returning Barry for a third term, though this time they may do so with more reluctance.

The Barry-Schwartz race points to the fissures and tensions in black politics today. The trend is away from lock-step solidarity based on blackness and toward diversity—both regionally and nationally—based on economics, education, and reactions to hot non-racial political issues. Of note:

Black elites no longer call the shots. The Democratic-primary runoff in Georgia's 5th Congressional District in September pitted two acclaimed civil-rights leaders, Julian Bond and John Lewis, against each other. Appealing to an unusual combination of poor blacks and middle-class whites, Lewis beat the favored Bond, who was supported by Atlanta's black elite and black pols. Without the black establishment, Lewis still made it.

Colorblindness on the march. In the Democratic primary this June in a heavily black New Jersey district, Jesse Jackson tried to unseat Peter Rodino Jr., the 19-term incumbent Democratic congressman and rock-solid civil-rights advocate. Jackson said a black deserved that seat. Despite Jackson's popularity, his effort fizzled. Blacks stuck with Rodino, who is white. "Blackness as a reason for voting," says a Washington pollster, "is on the wane."

Weak Democrats. A new report by a Washington-based nonpartisan think-tank for black affairs, the Joint Center for Political Studies, says more blacks than ever (49 per cent) now consider themselves "weak Democrats." Black leaders in Washington ascribe this softening to the rightward shift of the Southern Democratic leadership, and even go so far as to claim that the black vote could be hard to pin down in 1988. On top of that, Ronald Reagan enjoys a 20 per cent approval rating with blacks (a 1985 poll by Washington political scientist Linda Lichter cited figures up to 30 per cent), an out-of-sight statistic for any Republican in recent times. Blacks as a voting bloc may be up for grabs.

Black Republicans. Wayne County (Detroit) Executive William Lucas is trying to become the nation's first black elected governor (by defeating popular Democratic governor James Blanchard). Black Michigan congressman John Conyers threw acid on Lucas's conservatism, declaring that Lucas is black only on his birth certificate and as much a traitor to his people as those Judas Jews who "led their brothers and sisters into the ovens of the Holocaust." In spite of such "black on black" racism, the number of black Republicans increases visibly, albeit slowly.

Cloudy rainbow. Although Jesse Jackson continues to be the most popular black candidate (80 per cent of blacks voted for him for President in 1984), some here now claim that this impressive vote was largely symbolic and that blacks won't give away their vote in the same way in 1988.

Blacks in Congress. Black legislators, notably William Gray (D., Pa.), chairman of the House Budget Committee, and Charles Rangel (D., N.Y.), chairman of the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control, have shed their black-issues-only agenda and demonstrated leadership on national issues. "Blacks now worry less about black power and more about power in general," says a top aide to an Eastern black congressman. "They're interested in Star Wars, international trade, Nicaragua."

ALL OF WHICH points to the collapse of Martin Luther King's black-power coalition, where an active and pernicious racism unified blacks as blacks. "Whites sing in a thousand voices," says Althea T. Simmons, Washington lobbyist for the NAACP. "We've always had to sing with one. Now there'll be a little less harmony." Some blacks are very disharmonious, indeed, notably Republican Clarence Pendleton, the controversial Reagan-appointed chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. "Civil rights never meant thinking the same thing," says Pendleton. "My politics aren't my pigments."

Carol Schwartz is counting on "sophisticated voting" among blacks in Washington, D.C. "You can be sure there will be less voting for blacks for blacks' sake," she says. "They're going to vote for the person who will do the best job." Not in enough numbers this year to get Mrs. Schwartz elected mayor of the nation's capital. But time is on the side of the Schwartzes. □

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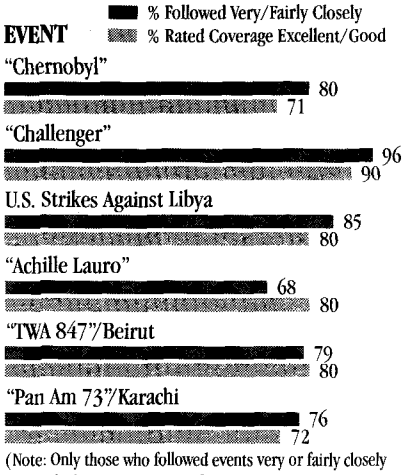
"The People & The Press," Part 2

How would you rate press coverage of these events?

How well do you and your fellow citizens think we in the press covered the above events?

As a newspaper-based media company, it's essential that we know. So we commissioned Gallup to find out.

Gallup asked Americans across the U.S. how closely they followed six major events and how they rated press coverage of them. Here are their responses:



(Note: Only those who followed events very or fairly closely were asked to rate coverage of them.)

Other press issues covered, too. Gallup re-asked key questions from "People & The Press, Part 1" to check for changes, then posed 50 questions on press handling of terrorism and news leaks.

We'll detail the findings in subsequent ads. Meanwhile, here are highlights:

Ambivalence about coverage of terrorism. Majorities said press coverage of terrorism was very or mostly satisfactory and in the public interest.

But majorities also said the press gives terrorists "too much" coverage and press coverage "increases the chances of future terrorist acts."

Division over news leaks. Among the 55% who understand the term, half said news leaks serve the public interest, half said they hurt it.

Part 1 vs. 2: No changes. Large majorities continue to like and believe the press and think it supports America and strengthens democracy.

Majorities also continue to think it "favors one side" and is unduly influenced by powerful individuals and institutions.

How to get Part 2 details. We'd be pleased to mail you a summary. Just call our public affairs people at (213) 972-3946.

We'd also like your views on these press issues. Send them to our chairman, Robert Erburu, Times Mirror, Times Mirror Square, Suite 100, Los Angeles, CA 90053.

Who we are

We own the properties below. In terms of sales, we rank 135th among Fortune's "500." In terms of net income, we're 70th.

Times Mirror Newspapers: Los Angeles Times; Newsday; The Denver Post; The Hartford Courant; The Morning Call (Allentown, PA); The Stamford Advocate and Greenwich Time (Connecticut).

Times Mirror Magazines: Popular Science; Outdoor Life; Golf Magazine; Ski Magazine; The Sporting News; National Journal.

Times Mirror TV Stations: KDFW, Dallas; KTBC, Austin; KTVI, St. Louis; WVTM, Birmingham (AL).

Times Mirror Cable: Fifty cable TV systems serve 300 communities in 15 northeastern, western and southwestern states.

Times Mirror Publishing: Matthew Bender & Company, law books; The C.V. Mosby Company, medical and college publishers; Year Book Medical Publishers, medical publications; Harry N. Abrams, art books; Mirror Systems, computer software; Learning International, training programs; Jeppesen Sanderson, flight information and training.

Times Mirror

We're interested in what you think.

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SUMMITRY PRIMER

THE GOOD NEWS is that the Reykjavik microsummit collapsed. Engineering that meeting was a bold move on Mikhail Gorbachev's part. The Soviet squeeze started with the Daniloff frameup. Having startled the world with his Reykjavik proposal, Gorbachev pushed his luck by issuing a kind of ultimatum on the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI): If you want arms control, keep Star Wars in the laboratory.

President Reagan saw through this and stood firm. End of microsummit.

The most that could have been expected from Reykjavik would have been limited accord on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe, with matching caps on Soviet SS-20s and U.S. cruise and Pershing II missiles. The fact that Gorbachev felt the need to bring up SDI was a sure sign of insecurity at home. Does that mean no more full-scale Summits while Ronald Reagan is in the White House?

Not necessarily, but let me try to close in on strategic realities through a two-part fantasy. I start with the impossible, the ideal maximum, before switching to the realistic minimum. Bear in mind that, in the real world, an easy majority of those concerned with public affairs, whether in politics or in the media, are guided in various degrees by idealistic preconceptions. Admittedly, it is always hard for the mere observer to know whether the views expressed by those in the public eye are sincere, or just designed to sound sincere.

In our ideal world, then, President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev are responsible statesmen, deeply conscious of the yearnings of humanity for peace and for freedom from fear and hunger.

In that spirit, they meet, at Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington. Gorbachev knows that the Soviet Union is in a bad way. Chernobyl was more than a terrible disaster: It was also a public humiliation, an exposure of shoddy methodology, a denial of long-standing claims that Soviet society is the most advanced in history. Living standards stagnate, corruption and inefficiency are rife and appear to be built into the system. Gorbachev could do with some relief on the arms front, especially in high-tech space hardware. Moreover, he knows that Reagan is bothered by the whole Leninist agenda of expanding Soviet power through surrogates, which did well enough after Watergate but now seems to be faltering. Afghanistan, too, is a bit of a burden.

All of this makes him conciliatory. So he proposes: complete Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, with free, internationally supervised elections to follow; and a complete cutoff of aid to Cuba, Nicaragua, and Angola. All of this as a token of Soviet good will.

Before Reagan has had time to recover his composure, Gorbachev comes up with what everybody has been waiting for: In return for the abandonment of SDI, he will demobilize 25 Soviet tank divisions and half the strategic rocket forces, and scrap half the sea-launched ballistic missiles. As for the intermediate-range missiles, why, those too can be cut by half.

Reagan, on his side, determined to bury once and for all the trigger-happy Rambo image, and taken aback by such unexpected Soviet concessions, readily agrees to drop what the media insist on calling "Star Wars" (after all, it did seem to worry a lot of people who were rather attached to their nuclear-war syndrome). He will also stop aid to Savimbi and the Contras in recognition of Soviet good will in Afghanistan and elsewhere. And he will match other Soviet strategic concessions. As for theater (intermediate-range) weapons: That does cause problems, but in a spirit of reciprocity, he will limit deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles to whatever low limit the Soviets reach on SS-20s.

International rejoicing over this incredible accord is overwhelming, and heart-warming (except among nuclear disarmers so inconsiderately deprived of a lifetime cause). Alas, it is also short-lived, for during the full-scale post-Reykjavik Summit in Washington, Gorbachev's colleagues decide that they can do without his services. And the new Soviet boss (whose name I am not yet at liberty to reveal) is a very awkward customer indeed . . .

The Realist Scenario

LET US NOW try an opposite-end scenario: maximum realism. The dialogue might go somewhat along the following lines:

REAGAN: "Let us be frank. You and your party are committed to the total destruction of our system and our way of life. You may think that because there are certain things we never mention in public we don't know about such things. Well, let me tell you, Mr. General Secretary, we know more than we let on."

GORBACHEV (ironically): "Is that why you called us an 'evil empire'? We didn't like that, Mr. President. It was not helpful to world peace."

REAGAN: "I was using that term in the literal sense. So let me try a few questions on you, before we proceed."

GORBACHEV: "Go ahead. I'm listening. And only the interpreters are present. They know what's good for them." (The interpreters shuffle uneasily, the American one in sympathy with his Soviet colleague.)

REAGAN: "Well, first off, don't you think the time has come when our side should publicize all we know about the Soviet strategic plan to corrupt and demoralize our free societies with addictive drugs?"

Gorbachev, shocked, falls silent, but rallies with the time-honored technique of the blatant lie: "I have no idea what you mean, Mr. President."

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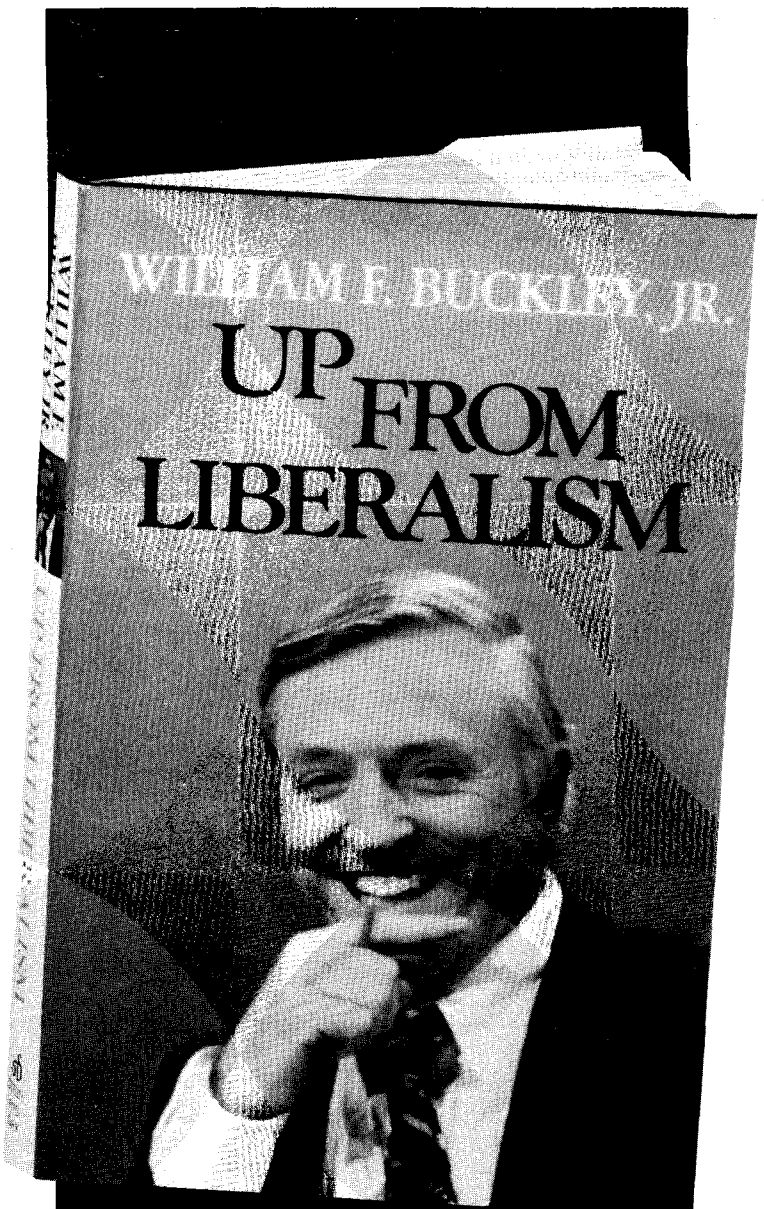

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REAGAN: "I am alluding in particular to a formal decision taken by one of your predecessors, Nikita Khrushchev, in Moscow in 1962."

GORBACHEV: "You must be mistaken, Mr. President. We have no record of any such decision. The problem you face with narcotics in the U.S. is entirely due to the natural corruption and criminality of capitalist society."

It is Reagan's turn to look pensive, then he too rallies fast. "If your party archives are deficient on this point, Mr. General Secretary, please feel free to let me know, and we shall make our own very precise material available to you."

The General Secretary's expression has gathered clouds. "This conversation has taken a very unconstructive turn," he says through clenched teeth. "I see no point in continuing it."

The President turns on his warmest Great Communicator smile. "You don't understand, Mr. General Secretary. I am trying to explain the immense contribution my Administration, and past Administrations, have made to world peace, by simply refraining from mentioning some of the more evil aspects of the evil empire."

Gorbachev, by now on his feet, is showing distinct signs of being about to pack his bags. The President, unflustered, goes on: "To take an example, I am sure you will have read the communiqué issued at the end of the so-called economic summit in Tokyo last May? You will remember, then, that we strayed some distance from economics, into terrorism. Now, the only country specifically mentioned as involved with terrorism was Libya. In answer to questions, later on, I added a mention of Syria.

"Nowhere in the communiqué, however, was there any mention of the Soviet Union. Nothing was said about the arms, money, and training your government provides for international terrorists."

Quick as a shot, Gorbachev comments: "This is not at all surprising, Mr. President. There is nothing to be said. The Soviet Union is utterly opposed to international terrorism and to state involvement, such as American support for the so-called Contras. On the other hand, we have a principled and constitutionally supportive attitude toward national-liberation movements."

After further exchanges this alternative scenario peters out in an acrimonious exchange of unpleasantries.

The War We Are In

SUCH EXERCISES ARE, in my view, far from pointless in that they highlight the enormous gap that separates two worlds and two societies, thus bringing the limitations of Summit negotiations into sharp focus.

What, then, of the wider issues—the "war we are in," the "protracted conflict"? President Reagan made good use of the hours of private talks with Mikhail Gorbachev at the Geneva Summit a year ago, especially in the area of "regional conflicts," the acceptable euphemism for Soviet expansionism in the Third World. He warned the Soviet leader: "Thus far and no farther."

The trouble was and remains that Gorbachev knows, as does the President, that there are massive, in-built limitations to the projection of presidential power beyond the boundaries of the United States. The President proposes; Congress disposes.

It took Ronald Reagan the best part of a further year to get his $100 million of aid to the Contras, and it would be surprising if we were not well into 1987 before Contra victories in the field started giving food for thought to the Sandinistas' backers.

Wherever you look, there is no sign that the Soviet leader has paid the slightest heed to the President's warnings at Geneva. U.S. aid to Jonas Savimbi's UNITA forces is matched by increased Soviet aid to the Angolan government and the Cuban surrogates who prop it up. U.S. aid to the freedom-fighters in Afghanistan is more than matched by Soviet reinforcements of the army of occupation and repression, numbering 118,000 at last count.

Nor is Congress the only obstacle to the exercise of presidential leadership of the West. The European NATO Allies have views of their own. France self-righteously denied overflight rights to the British-based F-111 fighter-bombers on their aerial expedition to Libya. Since then, in a kind of fateful justice, the French have felt the full force of revolutionary terrorism.

Let us note in passing that Britain's Labour Party (which just could return to power a year or so from now) has cheerfully served notice on the United States that it will, when next in office, tell Britain's Yanks to go home, while still staying in NATO.

But it is in southern Africa, still, that the full obstructive force of strategic ignorance and misguided morality is felt. The Senate vote overriding the presidential veto of the bill to impose sweeping sanctions against South Africa is the most glaring example of elected folly I can recall in my half-century of political commentating. And that is saying something.

The wisdom and strategic grasp of the President proved no match for Senator Lugar's dedication to image over substance; for the Commonwealth's fecklessness; for the legacy of Lord Carrington in Marxist-Leninist Zimbabwe; for the self-delusive defeatism of the State Department and the Foreign Office; for the hand-wringing compassion of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. A formidable combination.

To the list, it is fair to add Sir Geoffrey Howe, Britain's Foreign Secretary, whose contribution to impending doom was to receive Mr. Oliver Tambo on September 20. An interesting one, this, on a number of counts.

First, it was a major departure from normal Foreign Office diplomatic custom, which rules out official contacts with organizations advocating the violent overthrow of governments with which Britain has normal diplomatic relations. This same formula is used to justify the denial of official contacts with Savimbi. By receiving Tambo, the president of the Communist-controlled African National Congress (ANC), the Foreign Secretary was signaling that it is all right to see a pro-Moscow terrorist but not an anti-Communist freedom-fighter. Worse, the Howe-Tambo talks amounted to virtual recognition of the ANC as a preferential candidate for power in Pretoria in the event of a collapse of white rule.

How hard is the President's road, Summits or no Summits. □

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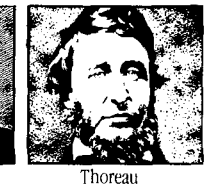
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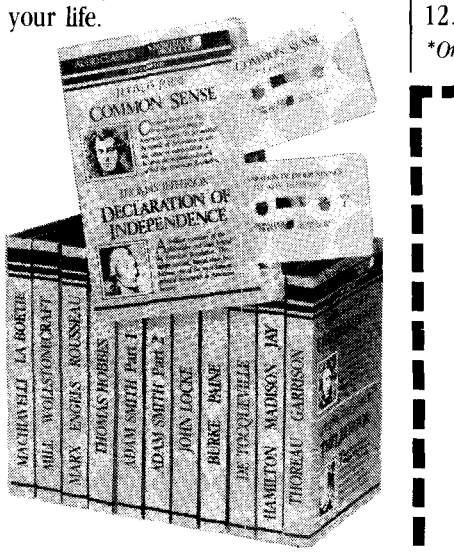

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CAPITAL BULLETINS

SLOW DEATH

IT WAS A modest proposal: Let states raise the 55-mile-per-hour speed limit. Not *anywhere* they want—let's not be radical—but at least on interstate highways outside communities of fifty thousand or more. That's the rider Senate Republicans attached to authorization of a four-year, $52-billion highway and mass-transit fund. Repealing the national speed limit has been a dream long cherished by conservatives concerned with states' rights and by Western drivers concerned with getting from Boise to Butte before they die of a) boredom or b) old age.

So rural Westerners cheered when President Reagan, after meeting with Senators Steve Symms (R., Idaho) and Chic Hecht (R., Nev.), gave his approval. In public, Secretary of Transportation Elizabeth Dole has declined to take a position on 55 mph ("It's the toughest public-policy question I ever had to deal with," she says), but privately she fought hard to retain the national speed limit. According to one Capitol Hill staffer, Mrs. Dole was "visibly miffed" at being overruled by the President.

The recent legislation was sparked by Secretary Dole's earlier decision to cut off more than $5 million in federal highway funds to several states, because more than 50 per cent of drivers in those states were speeding. (Actually, if the Federal Government did allow state governments to tinker their statistics, *37 states* would face cutoff of federal highway funds.)

Prospects for passage in the House were killed, at least for the 1985-86 session, thanks to the opposition of Representative James J. Howard (D., N.J.), chairman of the House Public Works and Transportation Committee (backed, incredibly, by House Republicans on the committee). Howard told Senate conferees he'd let them raise the speed limit (to 65 mph), but only if the Senate agreed to require states to ban all radar detectors, demonstrate a 65 per cent compliance rate with mandatory seatbelt laws (states requiring seatbelts guestimate that 10 to 20 per cent of drivers now comply) as well as an 85 per cent compliance rate with the higher speed limit, *and* prove the new speed limit resulted in no increased fatalities. Senate conferees said, "No way."

Senate Republicans, however, have no intention of dropping the issue. "That's the number-one issue out West. Nevada didn't even have speed limits until 1974, so you can imagine how our voters feel about it," says a spokesman for Senator Hecht. "Next session, we'll be making an all-out effort to get rid of 55."

—T. HARVEY HOLT

THE 55-MPH SPEED LIMIT

A true-or-false quiz.

55 saves lives.

Probably false. It's true that the rate of traffic fatalities has declined since Congress enacted the 55-mph speed limit in 1973, but traffic fatalities have been doing that since 1922. Since 1980, the average speed on our nation's highways has shot up, but the number of traffic deaths continues to decline.

55 saves gas.

True. But not very much. Best estimates are that the national speed limit cuts fuel consumption by between 0.5 and 1 per cent less than a driver saves by adjusting his tire pressure from 24 to 26 pounds.

55 wastes money.

True. States spend an estimated $200 million each year to enforce the national speed limit. In addition, a recently released study by the National Research Council says 55 costs Americans about one *billion* man-hours each year in added driving time. If, as the saying goes, time is money, then, even at the minimum wage, 55 costs at least $3.65 billion in labor, or more than ten times the value of the fuel saved.

People like 55.

That depends on whom you talk to. Surveys report a majority of people favor 55. But on this issue, people vote with their feet—on the gas pedal. Law-enforcement officials report that more than 70 per cent of American drivers exceed 55 mph.

Source: Heritage Foundation backgrounder, "The High Cost of the 55-MPH Speed Limit," September 9, 1986.

FOWLER PLAY

YET ANOTHER conservative Reagan appointee is meeting organized resistance, only this time the fight is intramural. A coalition of New Right groups seeks to block the renomination of FCC Chairman Mark Fowler, citing his allegiance to a "libertarian agenda." Fowler, who served as communications counsel during Ronald Reagan's 1976 and 1980 presidential campaigns, has sought to loosen the hold the Federal Government has on the broadcast industry. "The time has come to treat the electronic media the same as we treat the medium that uses paper and ink," Fowler told the *Washington Times* in 1985.

But National Decency Forum (NDF) co-chairman Barbara Hattemer says Fowler's penchant for deregulation conflicts with the Federal Government's

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obligation to police the nation's airwaves. "He has failed completely to uphold decency standards on radio and television," complains Mrs. Hattemer. "His message to the industry is to go ahead and do anything you want." The NDF held a series of demonstrations in front of FCC headquarters this June to protest Fowler's failure to enforce federal statutes prohibiting "indecent" TV and radio broadcasts. Phyllis Schlafly seconds the NDF's complaint, arguing that by failing to enforce obscenity regulations, the FCC encourages independent stations to show "pornography," like uncut R-rated movies, in order to compete with HBO and other cable companies.

Fowler's position on the fairness doctrine (like President Reagan, he's against it) also troubles some conservatives who believe the regulation guarantees conservative access to liberal-dominated media. Bernard Yoh, Accuracy in Media's director of communications, maintains that "the fairness doctrine is not regulation. It widens the First Amendment to a larger group of consumers by giving people without licenses access to the air." Mrs. Schlafly agrees, likening the public acceptance of the fairness doctrine to public acceptance of airline safety regulations.

So far, the White House hasn't officially sent the renomination to the Senate Commerce Committee for confirmation. A spokesman for the FCC says he doesn't know why the nomination is being held up and offers no comment on any allegations against Fowler. In the last few weeks, however, the FCC has begun pressing charges against two California radio stations as a "direct result" of NDF pressure, according to Mrs. Hattemer. One station was airing what the plaintiff called "disgusting" rock lyrics. The other broadcast a show featuring explicit descriptions of gay sex.

—Henry Klingeman

MILKING THE POOR

The Legal Services Corporation has a rule: Agencies that receive LSC funds must put citizens of the local community on their boards of directors as protection against improper use of federal funds. The LSC (a federal agency) also pays for the training of executive directors to run these same nonprofit agencies. Imagine the surprise of an LSC staffer who attended an executive-director training conference this September when he discovered that executive directors were being trained in how to fool their mandated citizen boards. One pamphlet distributed at the conference, called *How to Keep Your Mandated Citizen Board out of Your Hair and off Your Back: A Guide for Executive Directors*, reads in part, "We have observed many ingenious strategies used by executives and human-service professionals to 'contain' and render ineffective their mandated citizen boards. We would like to share these observations with other professionals."

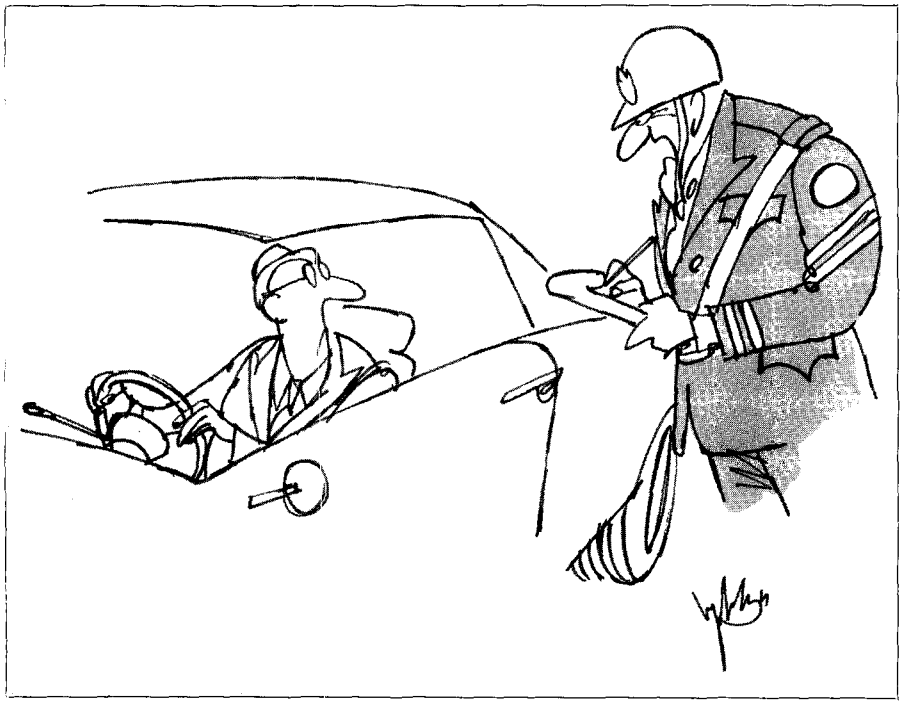
Actually, the LSC staffer who stumbled onto that pamphlet probably wasn't too surprised. Ever since Congress created the Legal Services Corporation, a battle has raged. Left-wing activists, arguing that Legal Services lawyers must address the "structural causes" of their clients' problems, have sought to transform the agency into a sugar daddy for left-wing political causes. Conservatives, on the other hand, have tried to eliminate the LSC, or at least restrict it to its original mission: helping poor clients get the same kind of legal services available to middle-class plaintiffs.

But Legal Services activists are tricky little devils, especially when aided and abetted by respectable Republican senators like Warren Rudman of New Hampshire. Senator Rudman, responding to persistent Administration requests to cut back the $300-million agency, proposed a 60 per cent cut, but in only one LSC budget item: monitoring services. With the LSC's watchdog staff gutted, LSC lawyers could, without interference, blissfully appropriate for their own pet projects money intended for poor clients.

According to LSC insiders, Rudman agreed to sheathe his budget knife, but only on condition that the Senate overturn a regulation prohibiting LSC funds from being used for political lobbying. "They gave us the money to oversee LSC funds, and then took away one of the regulations which we need to do it," groused an LSC staffer.

The LSC's charter expressly forbids using LSC funds for "grass-roots lobbying." The agency interpreted this to mean Legal Services lawyers could not engage in lobbying unless 1) they had a client who asked them to do so, or 2) the legislature asked them to testify, or 3) the legislation they were lobbying for or against involved their own funding. Now, thanks to Senator Rudman, the welfare-state cheerleaders have virtually unrestrained license to use Legal Services funds to impose "social justice" on the poor.

—Maggie Gallagher



"You were doing 75. Would you like that in metric?"

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DOES MEXICO NEED A REVOLUTION?

MEXICO'S Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) scored another in its long series of election victories this July. In fact, during the 57 years that the party has ruled Mexico, not one of its candidates for president, governor, or senator, including no small number of prime rogues, has ever failed to win.

The party did lose a few mayors' offices to the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN) three years ago, but it took them all back in the latest sweep. Altogether the PRI has run up a winning streak that even its friends behind the Iron Curtain might envy. But now the theoreticians in the party's *nomenklatura* are beginning to worry. Many of their fellow citizens have been saying for years that their record is too good to be honest. Now rank outsiders, among them the U.S. Government, are saying the same thing. The legitimacy of the system is being called into question.

Mexico is suffering its worst depression in fifty years. There is wild inflation, a near-worthless *peso*, high unemployment, crushing taxes, growing business failures, and a foreign debt soaring above the $100-billion mark. All this and much, much more was brought on by the profligacy, graft, and incompetence of the PRI, assisted to be sure by the crash in petroleum prices, and followed by the double earthquake in September 1985.

Under these circumstances, advance claims of a great election victory by the political party responsible for the mess would strike even such talented psephologists as Boss Tweed or Tom Pendergast as plain crazy. Yet a PRI spokesman made that prediction just before the polls opened in Mexico's state elections in July, and he turned out to be right.

And why not? To begin with, the party controls the federal treasury. It also has under its thumb the millions of *campesinos* living (barely) on government land, the labor unions, and to a large extent both the news media and the judiciary. Then there are three million bureaucrats on the payroll, and thousands more salaried by the nine hundred state-owned business enterprises. All those people and their relatives vote PRI, or else. And finally, the government—that is to say the party—counts the ballots, at leisure. With all those advantages, the question becomes, how can it lose? And more to the immediate point, why did it suffer those minor but painful losses in 1983?

The answer is: overconfidence. President Miguel de la Madrid, fresh in office in 1983, had promised clean elections, and election observers reported at the time that PRI leaders were temporarily cautious in applying what they laughingly call *alquimia electoral.* The techniques of that alchemy are as old as Athens: pre-stuffed ballot boxes, "lost" registration credentials, *tortuguismo* (intolerable delay) in suspect voting lines, and—oddly in this era of instant communications—eight or more days in seclusion before announcing the official count.

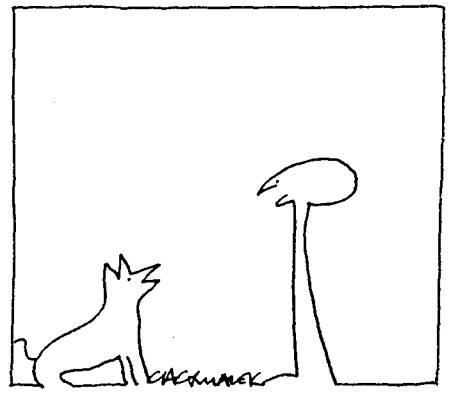
The alchemy available in 1983 was slothfully applied, especially in Chihuahua, and PAN candidates won a few jobs. There was much grumbling subsequently in PRI ranks, and PRI chiefs vowed it would not happen again. In the voting this July, they made good on their vow.

PAN charged massive fraud in Chihuahua and organized protest demonstrations, strikes, and blockades, all to no avail. American newsmen reported some irregularities but of course had no way of knowing what went on behind the scenes. The Catholic Archbishop of Chihuahua, Adalberto Almeido y Merino, and his priests stoutly supported the PAN protests. The PRI denied everything and chased off the few PAN officials who tried to cling to office.

Whether the PRI triumph was real or rigged, it may prove to have been a pyrrhic victory: It served to confirm the conviction of countless Mexicans and of the U.S. State Department that the whole system is fatally warped. The worst blow PAN could deal the PRI would be to give up altogether. The PRI needs at least token opposition to maintain the charade.

FOR YEARS the United States took a complacent view of democracy as practiced south of the border. The Mexican machine provided an island of stability in a volatile region. During the 1960s, in fact, growth in Mexico averaged 7 per cent a year, with sound money, low taxes, expanding production, and no debt or inflation to speak of. Mexico was held up as a model for all Latin America.

That changed abruptly with the accession of Luis Echeverría to the presidency late in 1970. Echeverría sought state control of the economy. He increased the number of state-run businesses—beauty parlors, steel mills, and everything in between—from around fifty to some eight hundred, most of them run at a loss by socialist ideo-



"I know what a lion and an elk are, but what's a Rotarian?"

Mr. Lake writes frequently for NR *about Mexican affairs.*

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logues. Big spending, fiat money, and inflation were the order of the day. Echeverría increased Mexico's foreign debt from $3 billion to $27 billion, and reduced the value of the *peso* by 40 per cent. He was an anti-capitalist who left office a multimillionaire.

President José López Portillo (1976–1982), a former college professor, completed the wreckage his old pal had begun. His flatout rush to exploit Mexico's rich petroleum reserves touched off a roaring boom and an orgy of corruption. When the price of oil as manipulated by the OPEC cartel hit unheard-of heights, billions of dollars poured into Mexico from export sales. Huge new bank borrowings abroad brought in yet more billions. Euphoria reigned—but much of the fresh money was pouring right out again and into private bank accounts abroad.

López Portillo expanded state control of business, and in the closing days of his autocratic regime he acted on one of Lenin's precepts for consolidating a revolution. Without asking anybody, overnight and illegally, he expropriated, not one bank, but the entire private banking system. His limber Congress made it legal by amending the constitution after the fact.

In foreign affairs, López Portillo was pro-Soviet, pro-Castro, and pro-Sandinista. He was anti-American and anti-capitalist. He left office a billionaire and left his country in crisis.

The bubble burst in mid 1982, a few weeks before López Portillo's strenuous term came to its end. The price of oil fell, and the country found itself strapped for cash. The United States, with no questions asked, rushed to the rescue. It put up $3.3 billion in emergency aid, and the International Monetary Fund soon came along with more. Mexico was saved from bankruptcy for the time being—although it was saddled with the world's second largest foreign debt and had seen its *peso* shrivel to the vanishing point—and President de la Madrid was given a moderately hopeful start. Foreign bankers with wishful balance sheets breathed a tentative sigh of relief.

As a cabinet member under López Portillo, de la Madrid was the chief architect of some of the innumerable plans that went awry, but he was not spattered by the corruption that seethed and bubbled all around him. His subdued style contrasted favorably with his old *patrón*'s flamboyance, and he promised, as candidates do, to clean house.

Sadly, even the initial mild hopes in him soon faded. There was much talk but little decisive action—*mucho ruido y pocas nueces*, as the Mexicans put it—and some of his subjects began to regard him as the Mexican answer to Millard Fillmore.

De la Madrid is, in fact, a captive of the PRI system. He follows the hard-left course in foreign affairs set by his two immediate predecessors, including warm hospitality for fugitive terrorists from El Salvador, Colombia, and elsewhere. Mexico continues to cast an almost automatic vote against U.S. positions in that great hall of winds on Turtle Bay. The de la Madrid regime is as hostile to U.S. policies as it dares to be so long as the chance for new loans is still good.

Midway through de la Madrid's term, subsidies for the ill-run state-owned businesses and industrial enterprises are absorbing a staggering 25 per cent of the federal budget. His attempts to curb spending and end his government's big domestic budget deficits have failed as dismally on their smaller scale as have those of President Reagan. As a matter of little-noticed fact, interest payments on Mexico's internal debt soak up more money than do payments on the much-publicized foreign debt. The flight of Mexican capital subsided under de la Madrid—there was much less to fly—but the flight of illegal immigrants to the United States accelerated to 3.5 million a year, according to Border Patrol estimates. Mexico meanwhile has become base and staging point for much of the world's narcotics traffic, compounding the corruption that has spread throughout the society.

As the new year dawned and oil prices plunged still farther, it became plain that Mexico was again on the brink of bankruptcy and default. But calls for a quick fix met with a cool response this time around. There would have to be some fundamental changes in Mexico's political and economic practices, gun-shy bankers declared. Otherwise, pouring another $6.2 billion into a failed socialist-style economy would be bailing water into the boat.

Two recent events shocked and

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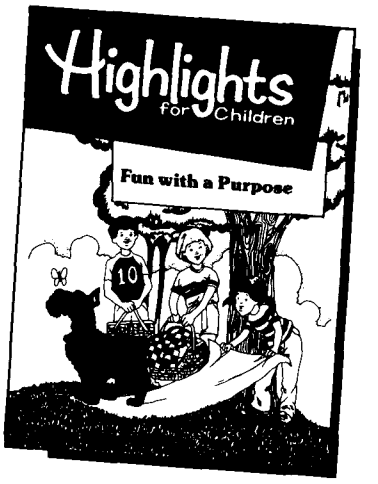

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FATCATS AND DEMOCRATS

IT BEGAN with a faculty argument about the congressional vote to bail out the Chrysler Corporation back in 1979. It was a small point, really: just a thread out of place. But once I got to pulling on it, more and more of the prevailing wisdom about American political parties came unraveled.

Conversation in the coffee room had shifted off basketball and onto a topic of concern to us as professional political scientists: Which party was behind the rapid increase in federal spending? The debate followed predictable lines. The Republican professor contended that the Democrats with their welfare programs were to blame, and the Democratic professor retorted that the Republicans were just as bad, having loaded the budget with subsidies for the well-to-do and corporate welfare "like the bailout of the Chrysler Corporation." The argument then headed into the murky business of trying to decide whether pro-rich or pro-poor spending was a larger fraction of the budget. No one came out a winner.

The debate had, however, bumped up against one concretely resolvable issue: Which party had supported the Chrysler bailout more vigorously? The conventional wisdom would lead one to bet on the Republicans, the party of business and the upper classes. But I knew that some Democrats had supported the measure too, so I decided to check. I dug out the *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* for that 1979 vote. The numbers were quite a surprise. In the House, 82 per cent of the Democrats voted for the bailout, as opposed to 38 per cent of the Republicans; in the Senate, 72 per cent of the Democrats supported it, as against 35 per cent of the Republicans.

Mr. Payne has taught political science at Yale, Wesleyan, Johns Hopkins, and Texas A&M. He is currently working on a book on Congress and federal spending, entitled The Culture of Spending.

The bailout of this big business corporation was a Democratic Party show. Had it been up to the Republicans, the bailout would have been voted down.

It occurred to me that the Chrysler vote, with its populist and pro-labor overtones, might be an aberration. It wasn't. The *Congressional Quarterly* vote records reveal that, on the average, Democrats support subsidies to business and the well-off far more strongly than Republicans do—crop subsidies and price supports of benefit to middle-class farmers and agribusinesses; public-works programs of benefit to construction and real-estate interests; "research" funding for well-heeled academics and scientists; subsidies for small-businessmen through SBA loans; subsidies to the big oil companies through synfuels appropriations; and on and on.

In the debate over synfuels funding in 1984, it was a Republican, Silvio Conte, who urged the House not to "bail out the pet projects of the fatcat oil barons." When the vote was taken, 67 per cent of the Democrats went in favor of the "fatcats"; only 42 per cent of the Republicans did. Or how about this plea, made in behalf of a NASA appropriation for aeronautical research in 1982: "[It] may be in some respects the life or death of companies like Boeing, United Technologies, Pratt & Whitney, Rockwell, General Dynamics. . . . I guess what I am saying is that we have an industry in America that desperately needs that technology-transfer help, and that is the aerospace industry."

This spokesman for subsidies to the giant aerospace corporations was Representative Dan Glickman, Democrat from Kansas. On the vote, his party backed his pro-subsidy view: 83 per cent of the Democrats voted for the authorization, as against only 20 per cent of the Republicans.

The Chrysler vote, then, was no exception: It was the rule—for domestic spending. On defense spending a different, rather mixed, picture emerges: Democrats are less in favor of spending when it involves weapons, especially strategic weapons, but more in favor of spending when it concerns personnel (e.g., salaries and veterans' benefits). But on non-defense programs —three-quarters of the federal budget —there is nothing mixed about the pattern: Democrats are more in favor of all types of spending, including programs whose beneficiaries are business corporations and the wealthy.

THE GRAMM-RUDMAN deficit-reduction law provided the acid test. This budget-cutting measure was carefully tailored to reflect liberal spending priorities, a concession made largely to pick up Democratic votes for spending restraint. Exempted from cuts were Social Security, veterans' compensation, veterans' pensions, Medicaid, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, WIC (a nutrition program for poor women and their children), food stamps, and supplemental security income. Standard government services were not exempted. The FBI was not exempted from cuts; the Border Patrol was not exempted from cuts; the Bureau of Standards was not exempted from cuts. The Defense Department was not only *not* exempted from cuts, it was specifically singled out for one-half of all the cutting necessary under the deficit-reduction program.

Gramm-Rudman thus enshrined a "reordering of priorities" of breathtaking proportions. Under it, gigantic transfers of money and services to the "poor" became the *highest* obligation of the United States Government, more important than protecting itself and its citizens from violence. If Democrats were old-fashioned liberals, soft on the poor, hard on the rich and the military-industrial complex, they should

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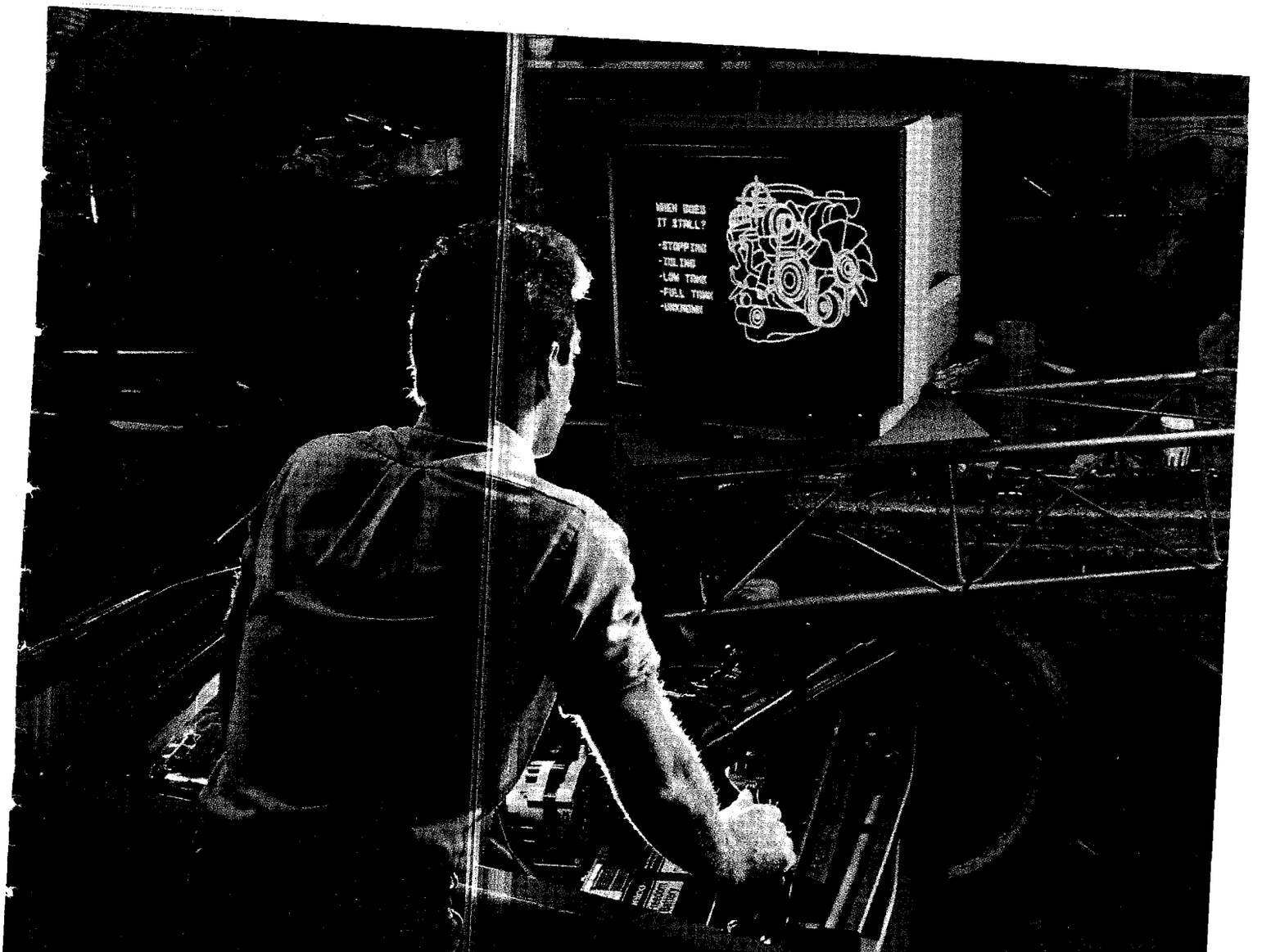

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have leaped at this chance to enshrine welfare spending and cut the defense budget. Republicans, by the same ideological interpretation, should have fought Gramm-Rudman tooth and nail.

It didn't happen that way. When it came time to vote, in the House, only 48 per cent of the Democrats voted for Gramm-Rudman, compared to 86 per cent of the Republicans; in the Senate, the corresponding figures were 50 per cent and 81 per cent.

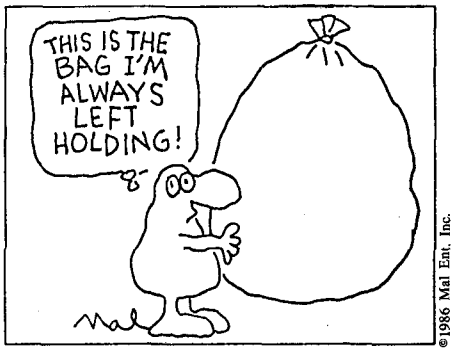
Political scientists aren't the only ones swayed by conventional opinion, of course. The myth that deluded me and my colleagues also shapes media coverage of the issue. Most major-media coverage of the Chrysler bail-out ignored the party split. The *New York Times* coverage was positively, though probably inadvertently, misleading. In reporting the vote, it quoted one Democratic senator who said, "The auto companies went to the Republican side of the aisle; the unions went to the Democratic side; and the country got squeezed in between." Not very accurate.

In the May 1986 *Reader's Digest*, Fred Barnes, the well-known Washington reporter and an editor of *The New Republic*, attempted to decide "Who's to Blame for the Deficit?" He began the article with a discussion of the 1985 attempt to eliminate the Economic Development Administration. According to Barnes, this employment program was costing taxpayers about $300,000 per job created. Barnes intimated that support for the EDA was bipartisan. "Senator after senator —Democrat and Republican, liberal and conservative—rose to defend the EDA," Barnes wrote, and then he named one Democrat (Hollings) and one Republican (Heinz) who supported it. The numbers tell a different story: On November 1, 1985, 87 per cent of the Democrats voted to save the EDA, as against 35 per cent of the Republicans, a 52-point gap.

Barnes also discussed the effort to eliminate the Urban Development Action Grants, the beneficiaries of which were often large corporations, including Hilton, Hyatt, and Holiday Inn. Barnes wrote: "When Armstrong's bill came up for discussion on the Senate floor, UDAG was defended by liberals such as Frank Lautenberg (D., N.J.), and conservatives such as Robert Kasten (R., Wis.) and Jeremiah Denton (R., Ala.). They made no mention of the deficit. The Senate voted 53 to 42 to keep UDAG money flowing." In fact, on October 17, 1985, 87 per cent of the Democrats voted to save the program while only 28 per cent of the Republicans did—a 59-percentage-point gap. At his fingertips, Barnes had the man-bites-dog scoop of the decade: "Democrats Overwhelm Republicans in Backing Pro-Business Subsidy." He turned his back on the scoop and perpetuated the cliché.

We should not be too severe with Mr. Barnes, however. After all, the *Reader's Digest* has a whole townful of editors and editorial assistants who could have checked the facts had anyone paused to doubt them, which no one did, because Barnes was merely rehashing a political sentiment as cherished and abused as Mom or apple pie.

At least two powerful factors help perpetuate the myths about who spends for what, one involving the mechanics of reporting party voting in Congress, the other arising from our ideological *Weltanschauung*. The Founding Fathers were antagonistic toward political parties, and gave them no formal role to play in the government. Congress has followed this tradition, especially in one crucial particular: *In reporting the floor votes, the clerk gives no breakdown by party.* The only official tabulation is the alphabetical lists of members voting "aye" and "nay." If you want to know how the parties divided on the vote, you either do a tedious tabulation of your own, or wait for someone else to do it, most likely the *CQ Weekly Report*, which you may not get for more than a week. In other words, reporters do not have the party breakdown of congressional votes when they go to write their stories. What they use in place of this overall picture—and what comes naturally to them—is interviews with a handful of legislators. Among this handful there will typically be party mavericks—members deviating from the dominant party position—because mavericks make interesting copy. As a result, journalists will find, and report, that there were party members on both sides of the issue—leaving the impression that no party split existed.



This mechanical difficulty affects the coverage of all congressional votes. For generations, journalists have given the public the impression that American congressional parties were Tweedledum and Tweedledee. Political scientists—coming along years after the votes were taken and relying on the overall tabulations—have shown how misleading this view is. Beginning with Julius Turner and his classic *Party and Constituency* in 1951, they have revealed major party splits on most of the key issues of the different epochs. But we should not be surprised that journalists still miss this point. Their *modus operandi* virtually dictates that they will.

Journalists aren't the only problem. There is also the twentieth-century *Weltanschauung*. For nearly a hundred years, politics has been viewed largely as a struggle between the haves and the have-nots. In each Western country, the party system that emerged at the end of the nineteenth century reflected this division. Socialist, labor, and peasant parties representing the lower class stood against conservative parties seen to represent the middle and upper classes. Marxism-Leninism, which sees the world irrevocably divided between capitalist oppressors and proletarian oppressed, was merely an extreme offshoot of this general world view.

The same Left-Right division appeared in the United States, with the Democrats seen as the party representing the lower classes, and the Republicans standing for business and the well-to-do. For generations, this has been the framework for explaining our politics. Historians have depended upon it, as have novelists, poets, and screenwriters. It draws together Robin Hood, *The Grapes of Wrath*, and Franklin Roosevelt's campaign against "the malefactors of great wealth" into a tidy, inspiring world view. It gives us a quick way to identify good guys and

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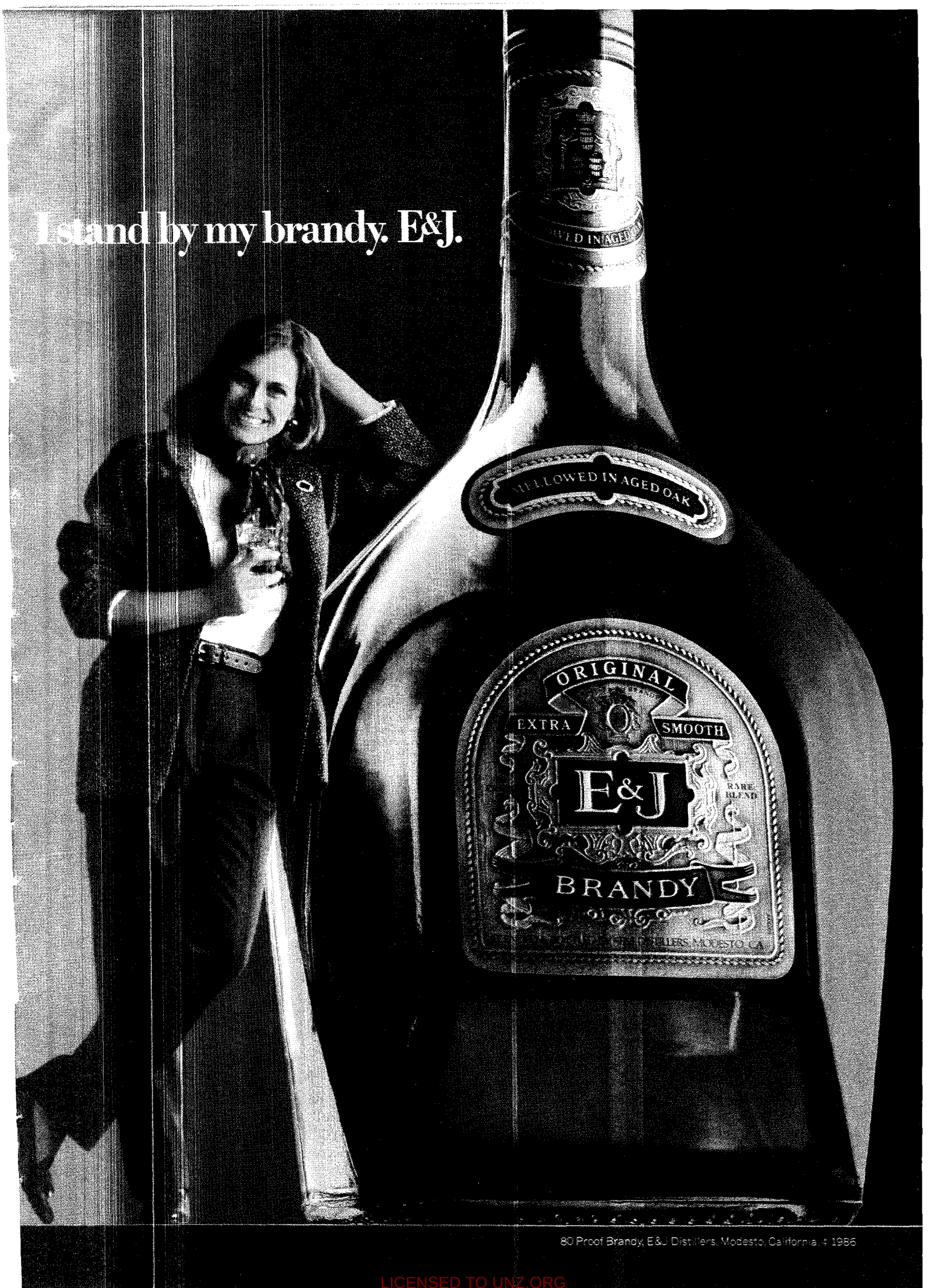

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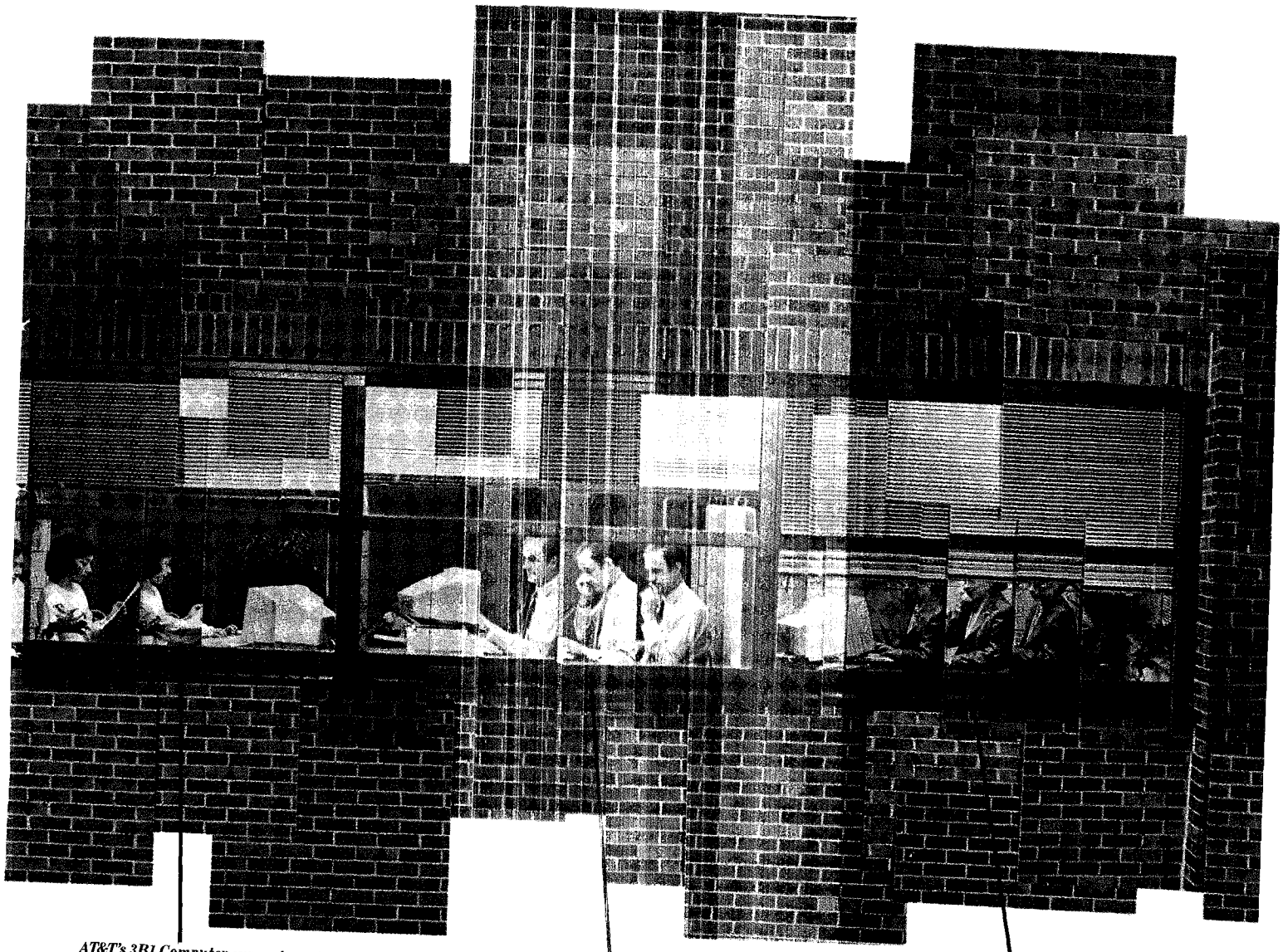

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AN EXORBITANT PRIVILEGE

LEWIS E. LEHRMAN

TWO YEARS AGO, Congress began to assemble the most comprehensive protectionist legislation since the disastrous Smoot-Hawley tariff of 1929-30. Hundreds of new bills have been introduced, some calling for fair trade, others calling for quotas, "voluntary" and "orderly" marketing agreements, export subsidies, selective import fees, countervailing duties, and manipulation of foreign-exchange rates. Such measures signal real danger for the free world trading order, so laboriously constructed after World War II upon the foundations of the Bretton Woods Monetary Agreement of 1944 and the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade (GATT) of 1948.

The overvalued dollar of 1985, combined with slow growth for the past two years, has brought about consensus for some form of U.S. protection. The cries for relief from declining unions and wounded industries will not be stilled by Administration rhetoric. In August 1986, Congress came within eight votes of overriding the President's veto of the textile, apparel, and shoe protection bill. With mines, farms, and industrial plants shut down all over America, what congressman could fail to be moved by the pleas from unemployed workers and underemployed manufacturers? The numbers are staggering. The merchandise trade deficit grew from $40 billion in 1981 to $123 billion in 1984 to $150 billion in 1985; at present rates it will wind up at approximately $170 billion for 1986. More than 400,000 jobs in the manufacturing sector have been lost in the last 24 months. Since 1980 almost three million skilled manufacturing jobs have been lost. Net of offsetting gains, two million well-paid industrial jobs have disappeared. While more than nine million jobs have been added to the U.S. economy since 1980, it does no injustice to point out that nearly 60 per cent are in "miscellaneous services," where the average wage is 25 per cent above the poverty level if it supports a family of four. Another 30 per cent have been added in retail, where the average wage is 82 per cent of the poverty level if it supports a family of four.

Some economists have correctly pointed out that the very strength of the Reagan recovery has inflated the merchandise-trade-deficit figures. When the U.S. leads a world economic recovery, its import growth tends to outpace its export growth. In that sense a modest trade deficit can be an indicator of economic expansion. But since 1983, when Reagan growth- and productivity-oriented economic policies took hold, imports have risen 60 per cent while exports have risen 6 per cent. And the most recent trade-deficit figures come on top of eight quarters of low (2 per cent) growth. Even those economists and politicians who look to German and Japanese expansion to augment U.S. growth should remember that offsetting the U.S. trade deficit would require an implausible 50 per cent increase in German and Japanese imports from the United States.

In 1985 and 1986, trade in advanced technology, the symbol of American entrepreneurship, has turned from surplus to deficit. Farm trade has been in deficit—June, July, and August 1986—for the first time in a generation. I pinpoint farming and technology because the U.S. farm sector has been an historical exporter and U.S. technology a competitive advantage. The charge that American industry is not dynamic cannot apply to semiconductors, where 10.7 per cent of industry revenues goes to research and development. Similarly, the American textile industry has been one of the most significant investors in capital per worker in the world, and nevertheless has lost 350,000 jobs since 1981. Many Americans wonder, in the light of these statistics, if the American trade problem is partly due to unfair or predatory trade practices, as suggested by the widely publicized Hitachi memorandum directing the company's sales force to quote 10 per cent below American semiconductor prices, regardless of cost.

One need not subscribe to the mercantilist fallacies of economic nationalism to be alarmed by these events and statistics. Even if one disagrees with their policies, one must give the protectionist politicians credit for coming to grips with the problem. The defenders of "free trade," meanwhile, with their shopworn slogans, have been on the defensive for two years. The classical and endlessly repeated argument for free trade—that a free market moves nations into industries in which they are competitive, and out of those in which they could not hope to compete, for the benefit of all—is undeniable. But even those who

Mr. Lehrman is the founder of the Lehrman Institute.

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accept its wisdom may be excused for questioning its relevance, when they see their nation being outstripped in so many of the most promising industries, especially those in which it seems to have a clear natural advantage. It is a contemporary paradox that nearly all academic economists, liberal or conservative, monetarist or Keynesian, agree on free trade as they agree on almost nothing else, and yet on this one point on which they are agreed much of the political, business, and labor communities dissents.

Like all good paradoxes, this one contains hidden wisdom. The classical argument for free trade holds perfectly true, but only when the indispensable minimum international conditions for fair and rational trading have been established. The simple problem we face is that with nearly as much unanimity as they endorse free trade, most establishment economists have rejected—and convinced heads of state and monetary authorities to reject—the essential pre-condition of international free trade: a workable international monetary standard that would both guarantee reasonably stable future values for national currencies and guarantee that those currencies would be exchanged for each other at fixed and stable rates. The classical model of international free trade describes an elegant and precise mechanism for world prosperity; trying to run that mechanism without stable money is like trying to run the New York Stock Exchange on a barter system.

It is of little use to drop explicit tariffs and quotas, which distort relative prices, if relative prices are even more distorted by wild gyrations, or even deliberate manipulations, of the rates at which national currencies are exchanged. Yet such gyrations are the inevitable result of two decisions: abolishing even the remnants of an international gold standard and replacing it, de facto, with an international fiat dollar standard; and abolishing fixed exchange rates based on convertible national currencies and substituting the current floating system based on manipulated currencies.

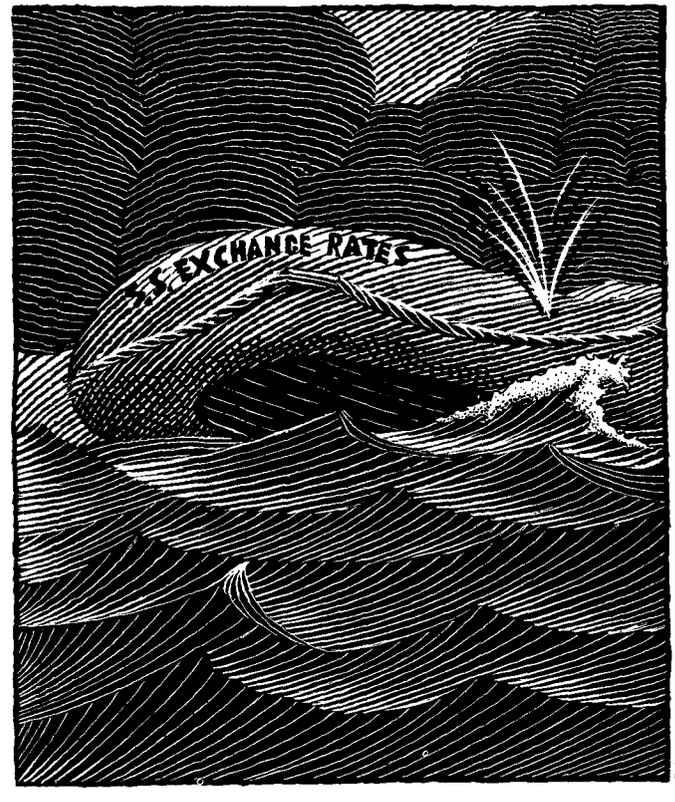
Modern mercantilism—generally ignored by economists and politicians alike during the past 15 years—has been practiced circuitously through the smokescreen of unrestrained monetary policies. This ruthless monetary struggle takes the form of a competitive depreciation of currency values similar to that which led us from the Depression of the 1930s into the nightmare of World War II. Managed floating exchange rates have become the hidden proxies for explicit tariffs, quotas, and export subsidies—and, ironically, the new exchange-rate wars provoke protectionist trade retaliation in response, dangerously retarding world economic growth.

The past 15 years of financial history show this to be true, the economic disorders of today being part of an unmistakable pattern. From 1971—when President Nixon formally suspended the international convertibility of the dollar and thus ended the Bretton Woods exchange-rate agreement—until 1974, America endured four phases of wage and price controls. Then came the "energy crisis"; an "era of limits" resource crisis; sustained double-digit inflation rates, unprecedented in the entire peacetime history of the Republic; back-to-back recessions, in 1980 and 1981-82, that set records for suddenness and severity; Treasury interest rates topping 15 per cent (twice the level that prevailed during the Civil War, when the Union had collapsed); total economic disarray in the farm belt, the mining industry, and the heavy-industry sector; a domestic and international banking crisis under way since 1982, with failure rates of all banks now running higher than in any year since the Depression; a budgetary crisis pushing federal deficits to record levels in a conservative Administration; and currency fluctuations that defy seasoned money managers, who successively warn that the dollar "must come down," "may never come down," and, most recently, "may come crashing down."

The formal switch to today's floating system occurred in 1973, when the last vestiges of international currency stability were swept away. Under a system of floating exchange rates, which rules out a common international currency and encourages all nations to faithlessly manipulate the value of their currencies in order to gain temporary advantage by reducing real wages, the world gradually reverts to a system of barter. The true and necessary functions of money are progressively undermined, as currency becomes a vehicle of speculation instead of a fixed standard, a known unit of account, a reliable store of value, a stable medium of exchange against goods and services.

It seems difficult to believe today, but floating exchange rates were actively desired by a majority of a whole generation of economists, both monetarist and Keynesian. In the late Sixties, both schools believed that stable exchange rates stood in the way of their economic policy objectives: for the Keynesians, full employment through budget deficits and Federal Reserve credit expansion; for the monetarists, price stability through targeting the domestic money supply. The irony, of course, is that the U.S. achieved neither full employment nor price stability under floating exchange rates. Instead, we suffered "stagflation," only partly ameliorated by Reagan reforms in the fiscal arena.

The neo-Keynesians of the Sixties blamed fixed exchange rates for an overvalued dollar. John Maynard Keynes had, in part, built his economic theory on the assumption that



Brian Callanan

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prices and wages are rigid. He proposed "demand management"—central-bank manipulation of deficit spending—to stimulate investment and employment, essentially by reducing real wages through inflation. Keynes's followers, grafting onto his model net exports as another source of demand, argued that devaluation of the exchange rate could stimulate exports and thus employment—once again, by reducing real wages at home to gain a competitive advantage abroad. Monetarists dispute this effect because in their frictionless model of the economy, everyone adjusts quickly to changes in the value of the currency: Neither workers nor consumers nor importers can be tricked into accepting lower real value in exchange for their money or services. But the real world falls somewhere between Keynesian wage rigidity and the quick-adjusting monetarist model. In the real world, producers and consumers are hemmed in by previous commitments. Steelworkers in a steel town may not be willing either to move or to strike, and thus will accept for a time the lower real wages that result from inflation or devaluation. It is precisely because Keynesian manipulations of the exchange rate are not ineffectual in the short run that they are dangerous tools of policy. It is the elusive promise of a free lunch that tempts nations to competitive currency manipulations. But manipulation and counter-manipulation create currency chaos, guaranteeing economic havoc and protectionist retaliation.

The monetarists—more classical in their views of wage and price flexibility—pointed out the inflationary bias in Keynesian domestic economic policy. But, curiously enough, they were prepared to accept the neo-Keynesian float for purposes of international exchange. In the monetarists' view, stable exchange rates stood in the way of their prescription for stable domestic prices and output: controlling the domestic money supply. As the monetarists recognized, it is impossible to target both the price of a currency (the exchange rate) and its quantity (the money supply) at the same time. If the exchange rate must be X, then possible manipulations of the money supply are severely limited.

But in freeing exchange rates to allow targeting of the domestic money supply, the monetarists unhinged their own theory. Monetarist strategies depend almost entirely on the assumption that the demand to hold cash balances is stable. If the demand to hold cash balances becomes unstable, the monetarists become like Archimedes trying to move the earth without a place to stand. If the demand for cash fluctuates, it becomes impossible for the Federal Reserve Board to predict what effect its monetarist operations will have on the supply and the price level of money. Now, the monetarists, in establishing their theory, had gathered compelling empirical evidence that the demand for cash balances is fairly stable. Their evidence, however, came substantially from periods of fixed exchange rates based on gold convertibility. But if nations unhinge exchange rates (the first monetarist step) and switch to government-managed paper money, then the demand for cash balances will fluctuate as wildly as predictions of the currency's future value.

There is another well-known explanation for today's financial turmoil: the "twin-deficit theory," which argues that the U.S. trade deficit is caused by the federal budget deficit and that the budget deficit has nothing to do with floating exchange rates. The theory argues that a budget deficit financed by federal borrowing will cause interest rates to be higher than they otherwise would be, thus leading to volatile international capital movements and fluctuating exchange rates. Therefore, it is argued that if nations end their budget deficits, a system of fixed rates based on gold convertibility is superfluous; and, on the other hand, if nations do not balance their budgets, the system of currency convertibility—the classical gold standard—will become useless anyway.

In truth, the twin deficits *are* at the heart of the world's fundamental economic problem. As a practical matter, however, the causation is substantially the reverse of the twin-deficit theory. The twin deficits—in U.S. trade and the federal budget—are as much the symptoms as the causes of monetary disorder, both in the United States and in the international economy.

It is because Keynesian manipulations of exchange rates are not ineffectual that they are dangerous. The elusive promise of a free lunch tempts nations to act in ways that create currency chaos

To get at this point, first consider classical monetary policy. Under the classical gold standard, central-bank reserves consisted largely of gold. That is to say, gold was the common coin among different national currencies, all directly convertible to gold at fixed rates. The monetary base in each country was backed by both gold and liquid financial assets denominated in the domestic currency, e.g., secured commercial paper. "Fixed exchange rates" was merely another way of saying that all national currencies were linked directly to the gold standard at fixed parities. Thus, all currencies shared a common monetary standard—gold—rather like the fact that the bank deposits for the 12 regional Federal Reserve Banks are linked by a common currency, the dollar.

It is of the utmost importance to grasp that neither Bretton Woods nor the fixed-rate system of the 1920s and '30s, which collapsed into the Great Depression, was a classical gold standard. Rather, in those eras the world monetary system was based on "reserve-currency" systems. Under a reserve-currency system, central-bank reserves consist not only of gold and domestic currency claims but also of the currencies of the major foreign powers. In the 1920s, the dollar and the pound sterling were the reserve currencies; under Bretton Woods, the dollar became the official reserve currency. It remains the dominant official reserve currency even today. Under the Bretton Woods rules, for example, other major currencies were convertible into dollars, but only dollars were officially convertible into gold. The American banking system, under the Federal Reserve, became in effect the world's central bank. The credit of other nations was leveraged upon U.S. credit, which, in turn, was leveraged upon declining U.S. gold reserves. Our banking system and money markets accepted on deposit the dollar reserves of foreign central banks and re-lent them to private or public borrowers, these foreign dollar reserves having been accumulated through sustained U.S. balance-of-payments deficits.

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The reserve-currency system made a certain sense during the Fifties, when the United States was all-powerful and the other industrial nations were virtually prostrate. But once reconstruction was substantially advanced and the European currencies became externally convertible into one another in 1958–59, the Bretton Woods system lasted only 12 more years, collapsing in 1971.

The dollar's official-reserve-currency status conferred an obvious benefit upon the United States. Charles de Gaulle called it an "exorbitant privilege." Jacques Rueff, the French economist chiefly responsible for the French recovery of the early 1960s, spoke of "deficits without tears." They meant that under the reserve-currency system, Federal Reserve credit expansion and American balance-of-payments deficits were automatically financed by the voluntary or coerced buildup of dollar balances abroad; and these official foreign dollar reserves were naturally invested directly or indirectly in the market for U.S. securities, thus returning to the U.S. the purchasing power lost abroad as a result of the persistent U.S. balance-of-payments deficit. But the exorbitant privilege has its price: The reserve-currency role placed increasing burdens on the American economy, because the foreign demand for dollar reserves gradually led to an overvalued dollar, to overpriced tradable U.S. goods, and, of course, to calls for protection.

The exorbitant privilege has its price. The reserve-currency role gradually led to an overvalued dollar, to overpriced U.S. goods, and to calls for protection. Fixed rates alone won't lead to free trade

Thus, fixed rates alone will not lead to free and fair international trade if they are based on a reserve currency rather than on an independent monetary standard, a non-national common currency. Under fixed exchange rates based on a true international gold standard, even during periods of very rapid growth—as during the first century and a half of the Industrial Revolution—global financial balance is maintained by virtue of the fact that total international reserves increase through increased gold production, *not* increased dollar (or other reserve-currency) debt. Also, under the classical gold standard, as one country loses reserves, another country gains them, thus stabilizing the general price level among countries. When, in one country, a rising price level or a too-easy domestic money market leads to a private-capital outflow or an excess of imports, the balance-of-payments deficit to be settled abroad must lead to increased exports or, in their place, a loss (export) of gold reserves.

But when one country's currency, the world reserve currency, is used to settle international payments—as today with the dollar—the balance-of-payments adjustment mechanism will be jammed for that country, and for the world. The extra demand for the dollar as the world's official reserve currency tends to keep its value higher than it otherwise would be. Normally an excess of dollars abroad would be cleared (returned to the U.S.) by an increased demand for U.S. exports (including gold if necessary). But under a reserve-currency system, foreign central banks accumulate these excess dollars to augment their reserves, so rather than being released to buy U.S. exports the dollars are held as foreign official reserves. Of course they are invested, in large part, in short-term financial instruments on the U.S. dollar market. Thus the U.S. experiences a short-term capital inflow just when it should be experiencing an export outflow—a trade surplus. U.S. export prices also remain higher than they otherwise would, in the first place because of the dollar's higher value, but also because of the concurrent domestic budget deficit, financed and encouraged by those foreign reserves invested here. The budget deficit intensifies the disorder by "bidding" for goods that could be exported. For some time at least, the process is self-perpetuating: The excess demand for the dollar caused by its use as a reserve currency tends to keep its value up, thus making foreign banks more willing to let their dollar reserves climb.

Everything proceeds as if there were no budget or current-account deficit. The foreign dollar reserves are used in the United States, the official-reserve-currency country, to finance the budget deficit, to purchase more imports, and to finance domestic consumption of goods that could otherwise be exported at competitive prices to re-establish equilibrium in the international balance of payments. In the absence of deliberately tight Federal Reserve policy (which tends toward deflation, as in 1984), the reserve-currency system thus finances, or subsidizes, demand within the U.S. for foreign goods, leads to a dollar exchange rate above what it would be under a true gold standard, and in the short run permits real wage rates and production costs for tradable goods to rise higher than they would under a convertible-currency system. Steadily, the trade balance of the reserve-currency country declines, along with its international competitiveness.

Ultimately, this process is not sustainable. The foreign demand for the reserve currency has a limit, and when it is clearly surpassed foreign holders will unload that currency, and it will begin to fall rapidly. The reserve-currency country will then be faced, as the U.S. is today, with the choice between propping up interest rates and deflating the domestic economy, or else repudiating all or part of its debts (by ending convertibility as in 1973, or by devaluating under the float as in 1986).

It is essential to understand these defects of a reserve-currency system because the dollar's reserve-currency role did not end with the breakdown of Bretton Woods. In fact, with gold immobilized, the dollar's role expanded. Demand for the dollar as a reserve currency continued or increased. Thus, it is no accident that since 1974—the year of our last nearly balanced budget—the twin deficits of the United States have mushroomed.

I do not argue that, under a properly functioning international monetary system, a trade surplus is good and a trade deficit bad; that argument is an all-time fallacy. In fact, a trade deficit leading to greater investment and output is a good thing. The point is that under the present floating system the increased foreign official dollar reserves —redeposited, say, in New York—permit the United States to sustain increased current consumption in excess of real income, for example by financing the budget deficit. In addition, the dollar's reserve-currency status alters, and at times jams, the natural adjustment mechanism of world

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Brian Callanan

payments, prices, and trade—whether exchange rates are fixed or floating.

We seem to be dealing here with what insurance companies call "moral hazard." The late Professor Wilson E. Schmidt once wrote a paper called "The Moral Hazard of IMF Lending," in which he argued that the offer of large loans to troubled borrowers tends to increase the number of troubled borrowers. Similarly, the reality behind the twin deficits is this: The greater and more permanent the facilities for financing the budget and trade deficits, as is the case under an official-reserve-currency system, the greater will be the deficits, or the subsequent devaluation. This principle helps to explain the total collapse of the congressional budget process and U.S. trade policy, not to mention the increasingly wild, coercive, and ineffectual attempts to correct them. Such administrative and statutory attempts to end the deficits will be futile until the crucial underlying monetary deficit is remedied.

A new international monetary system should not only adopt the strengths but also remedy the defects of Bretton Woods. It should also solve the institutional problems of today's managed floating exchange rates. The way to do this is to make the dollar convertible to gold domestically, as it was not under Bretton Woods; and, by law, to substitute gold, self-liquidating Treasury bills, and secured commercial paper as the backing for U.S. currency. In addition, as part of a new Group of Five (or Seven) understanding, all governments would agree to rule out further accumulation of any national currency as an *official* reserve currency.

My fundamental argument is that only gold, an objective non-national monetary standard, an independent reference point, not subject to creation by sovereign governments, can be the stable underlying reserve currency—the common currency linking all the nations. This is true for two reasons: First, the reserve-currency problem requires as a solution that all nations share a common monetary standard separate and apart from any national currency. Second, the protectionist, or mercantilist, temptation inherent in floating rates requires that all currencies be directly convertible into this monetary standard at fixed parities. Practically speaking, this leaves us the following choice: We can return to multilateral currency convertibility into gold (we could keep saying, "or some other commodity," but monetary authorities for millennia have accumulated and still hold more than a billion ounces of gold, not pork bellies or platinum or baskets of commodities). Or, instead, we could create another supranational institution, a world central bank, whose credit would serve as reserves for all central banks, including the Federal Reserve. The latter choice is not only impractical; in the light of decades of experience of failure at the UN and the IMF, it is undesirable and unworkable.

No other proposal offers a serious, lasting solution. The only significant criticism of the gold standard used to be that the supply of gold is "too inelastic"; but the facts of history show this to be untrue. Economic statistics show that gold production for centuries has grown directly in proportion to the average rate of world economic growth. Indeed, the major criticism of a world central bank is precisely that the supply of paper money in its hands would be too *elastic*. This is not to say that gold convertibility is a perfect solution—there is no such thing in an imperfect world. But fixed exchange rates, based on multilateral currency convertibility, constitute the *least imperfect* monetary system known to history—if our goals are a trustworthy money, low long-term interest rates, a reasonably stable price level, and steady economic growth toward full employment.

If such a system is ever reinstituted, the results will be dramatic. The immediate effect of pinning down the future price level will be to curb wild currency speculation and inflation hedging and diminish the preference for short-term investments, thus channeling immense amounts of savings into long-term financial markets and production. Falling long-term interest rates will increase the demand for investment capital, and with increased capital investment will come demand for currently unemployed labor to work the new plant and equipment. As long-term interest rates fall to their historical levels (under convertible-currency systems) of 3 to 4 per cent, the debtor nations of the Third World, now effectively bankrupt in all but the fantasies of Western bankers, will be able to service their debts and release their people from the pressure of IMF-imposed austerity.

The benefits of truly free and fair trade would be much greater than the returns most nations realize from an arbitrary sovereign power to manipulate the value of money. It is by giving up the autonomy to drive on the left side of the road that we gain the freedom to drive safely. By the same token a new commitment to an international monetary order substantially free of arbitrary government manipulation will deprive national leaders of the license to change currency values in order to conduct covert protectionist warfare. As in all true exercises of financial statecraft, this is a reform from which all nations would gain more than they lose. □

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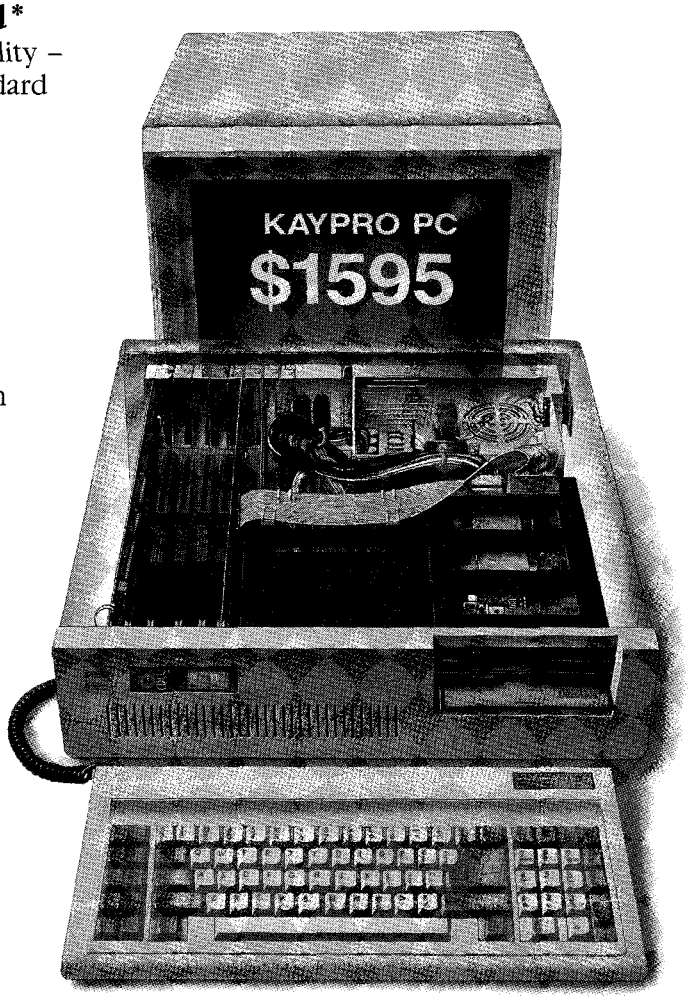

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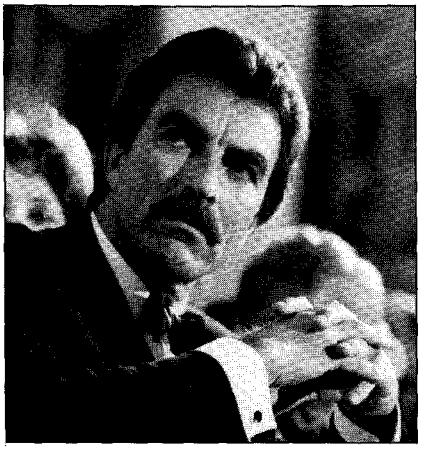

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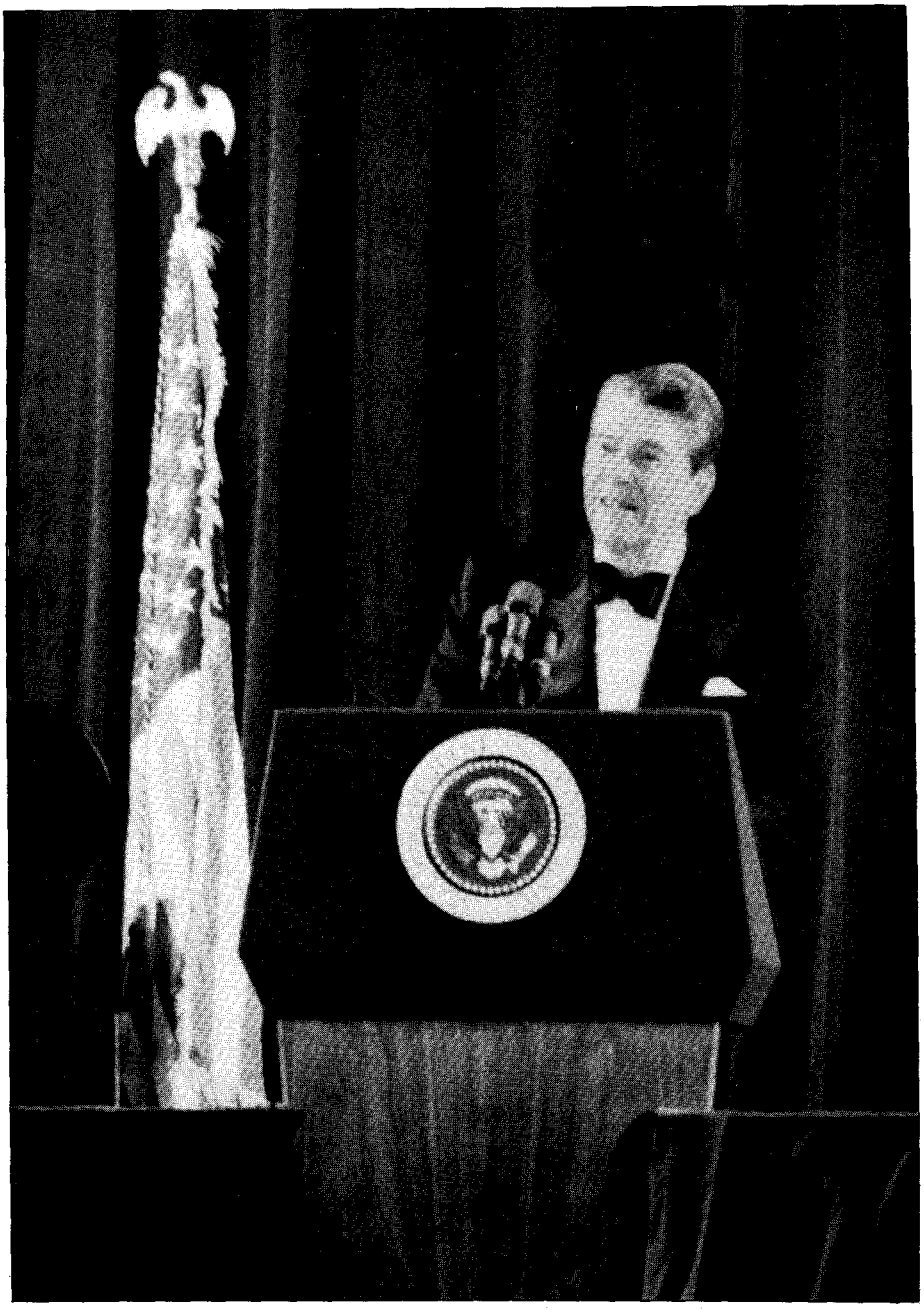

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MONARCHS AND PRESIDENTS IN ISLAM

In the Islamic world's relations with Israel, the hard-liners are the various Arab and non-Arab republics. When there is any sign of softness, it comes, almost always, from one of the monarchies. (Egypt, and Egypt alone, is the exception.) It thus did not come as a great surprise that King Hassan II of Morocco agreed to meet with the then Israeli prime minister, Shimon Peres, this summer.

While individual monarchs historically may have been capricious or cruel, monarchy as an institution is inclined to be generous: Montesquieu has told us that while the driving element in republics is virtue, in monarchies it is clemency. And, indeed, the Islamic monarchs of old were infinitely more tolerant than their modern republican successors. They traveled extensively, and many had a cosmopolitan outlook. Some had relatives abroad. When King Hassan II of Morocco writes to members of Europe's royal families, he addresses them as "*cher cousin*" or "*chère cousine*," since he is a descendant of Mohammed's daughter Fatima, as by now are all the Christian royal families. (Many centuries ago, a Moroccan prince was taken prisoner by the Castilians and converted in captivity. After his release he married into a princely family, and over the centuries his bloodline has spread into countless aristocratic and royal families.) In choosing their administrators, officers, diplomats, bankers, and doctors, Islam's monarchs looked for able men regardless of religion, never caring whether their choices were popular or not.

It is true that local slaughters of Christians took place in various parts of the Turkish Empire, but things got really bad only when the enlightened, highly nationalistic Young Turks appeared on the scene. Their political organization was called "Unity and Progress," by which they meant ethnic uniformity and modern methods. It was they who were behind the big Armenian massacres during World War I. The Turkish sultans, by contrast, frequently gave preferment to Christians (and sometimes Jews) in high positions. The Phanariotic Greeks, so called after the Lighthouse Quarter of Constantinople in which most of them lived, acted as trusted administrators; the governors of the Rumanian-speaking provinces, for instance, were taken from their families.

Very typical is the story of a family known to me. Originally called Black, they were Scots and good Catholics who emigrated after the fall of the Stuarts and settled in France, where they Gallicized their name. There are still Blacques in France, but one branch of the family emigrated to Turkey, where its scions made a splendid career without changing either their name or their religion. One of them, Edward Blacque-Bey, became the last Turkish imperial ambassador in Washington. (His sons, too, made diplomatic careers. One married an American, and his son, having graduated from Harvard, became a colonel in the U.S. Marines and later an American diplomat.) Edward Blacque-Bey wore a fez and was a loyal subject of the sultan, under whom Constantinople became an international metropolis. All this ended with the republic under Atatürk.

Similar conditions existed in the kingdom of Egypt before Nagib and Nasser. Forty per cent of the administrators and civil servants were Coptic Christians, who considered themselves the genuine descendants of the Old Egyptians. Before 1952 Cairo was an eastern Paris, where Christians and Jews played an important role—socially, commercially, politically. Arab nationalism put an end to all this, not only in Cairo, but also in Alexandria, which is so well described in Lawrence Durrell's *Alexandria Quartet*. In Iran —a non-Arab state—the old monarchy under the Kajar dynasty and the more recent one under the Pahlavis were notably tolerant. Non-Muslims (such as the still-surviving Zoroastrians) could make all sorts of careers, and the country's political orientation was Western. The window to the West remains open in the Islamic monarchies of today—in Morocco, in Saudi Arabia, in Oman, and even in Malaysia.

Monarchies have the advantage that, although they might be oppressive toward the political ambitions of their subjects, they are never totalitarian. To my knowledge there is no Jewish community left in Algeria, but there still is a small one in Morocco. Variety is the keynote of monarchies, and with it goes internationalism. In 1910 only two sovereign nations in Christian Europe had truly native dynasties: Serbia and Montenegro. (Peter III was the last genuine Romanov; the Hohenzollerns were not Prussians but Swabians; and so forth.) These dynasties could often follow unpopular policies, both domestic and foreign. Popular policies are not always good for the country, and the courage required to stick to an unpopular good policy is immensely rare among politicians in democracies. They crave popularity and want, above all, to be re-elected. King Hassan II might be trembling lest he be assassinated by fanatics, but he pursues policies that he considers to be right. He certainly is not guided by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's idiotic dictum, "Self-government is better than good government," which is roughly equivalent to saying that self-treatment in case of illness is better than treatment by a qualified physician. □

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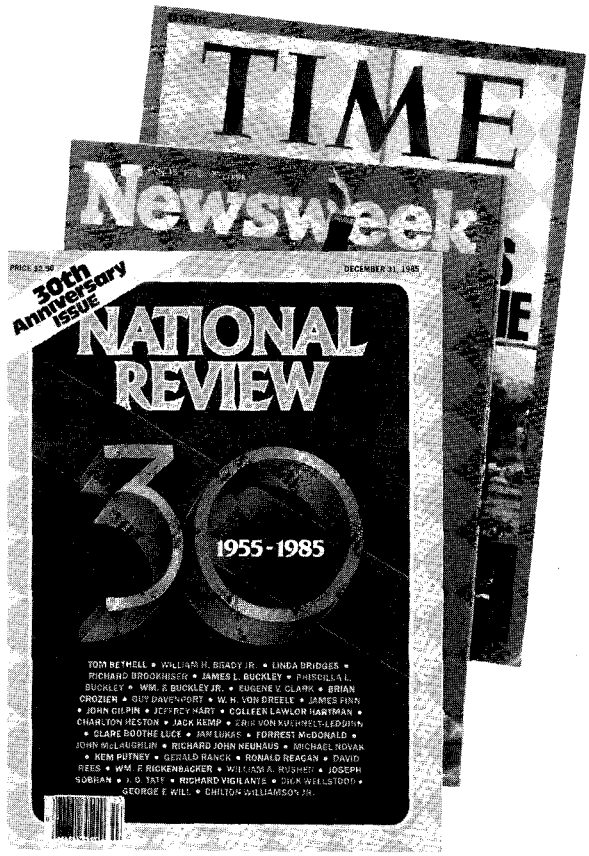

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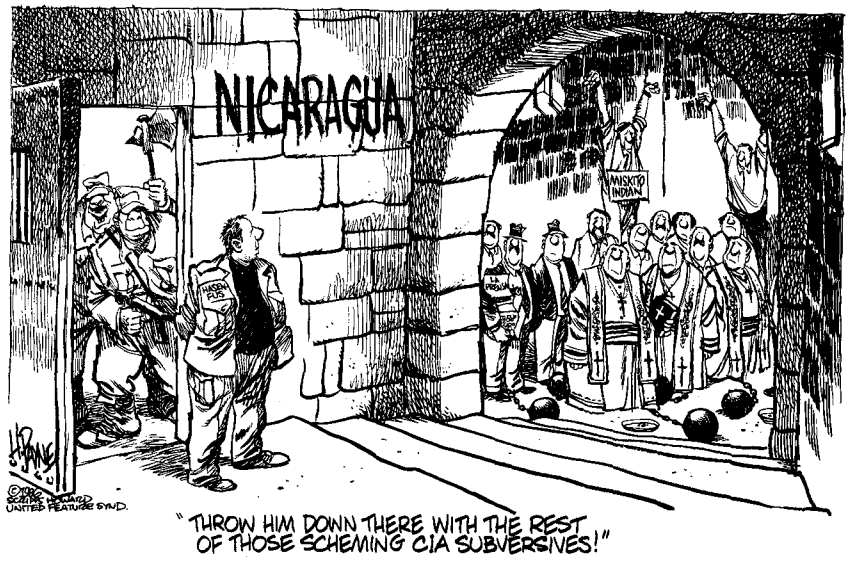
W. H. von Dreele



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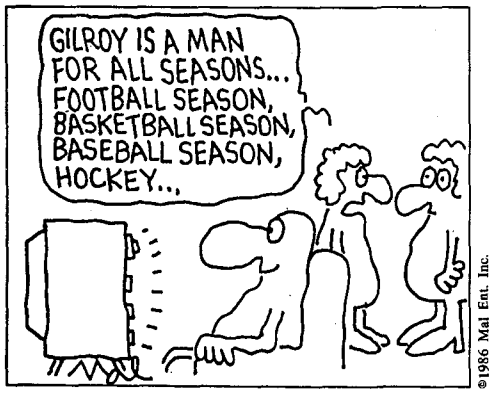

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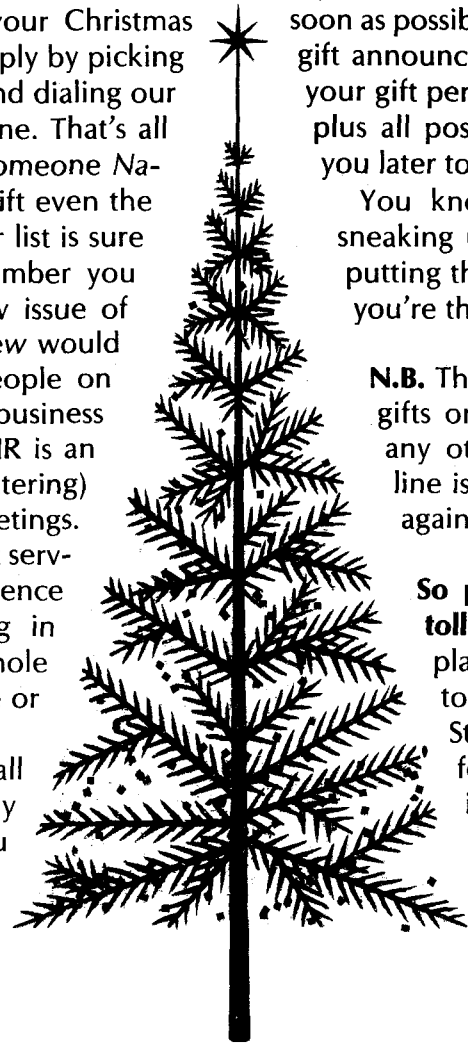

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AN AGE OF INNOCENCE

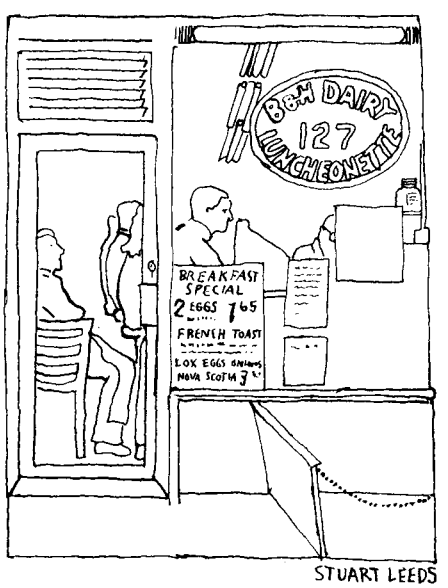
Robert F. Nagel

The Rise of Modern Judicial Review, by Christopher Wolfe (Basic, 392 pp., $24.95)

THROUGHOUT OUR history respected leaders have initiated vigorous public debate about the Supreme Court's role in interpreting the Constitution. Reflecting on the esteem accorded men such as Hamilton and Lincoln, poor Attorney General Meese must have expected at least an attentive reception when he began to question whether in its constitutional decisions the Court is emphasizing policy too much and history not enough. Instead he was met with derision. Justice William Brennan, for example, caricatured Meese's views as demanding that judges apply "exactly what the Framers thought about the question under consideration." The Justice, like many others, also cast about for crass political motives, suggesting that Meese's position "expresses antipathy to claims of the minority to rights against the majority" and "turn[s] a blind eye to social progress."

Now comes Christopher Wolfe in *The Rise of Modern Judicial Review* to address the same issues that Meese has raised. Wolfe's basic idea, like Meese's, is that the modern Supreme Court does not "interpret" the Constitution. The Court's decisions are no longer judgments of law; it now imposes its will on political issues without significant regard for the language, purposes, or logic of the Constitution. Anyone who has tried to find in that document anything about a right to have abortions will have some idea what Wolfe means. Wolfe, however, attempts to put in the same category cases, like those involving aid to religious schools or suppression of seditious speech, that have at least some apparent connection to constitutional text and values.

The modern Court's disregard for the Constitution is contrasted with an ideal of conscientious interpretation. Wolfe shows how the ideal was in fact practiced early in our history, especially by Chief Justice John Marshall. Again like Meese, Wolfe insists that serious interpretation is not mechanical or simple-minded. The judge may make inferences from highly generalized and debatable considerations, like the nature and requirements of government. The intent of the Framers is but one consideration and may be viewed both objectively (for example, by examining the principles embodied in their language) and subjectively (for example, by looking at the ratification debates). The various rules of interpretation can be given different weights depending on the circumstances and are sufficiently flexible that they can lead to opposite conclusions about the same issue. According to Wolfe, the importance of the traditional approach was not that it yielded "inescapable" answers but that it rooted the judge's decision in the Constitution rather than in his own preferences.



Having boldly and interestingly chosen a great judicial activist like Marshall as his model of a conscientious judge, Wolfe vastly increased the stakes involved in his criticisms of the modern Court. If the fluid and inconclusive principles of interpretation used by Marshall (and used sometimes for apparent political purposes) are examples of *judgment*, what new sins might make the modern Court's decisions matters of mere *will*? Wolfe's basic answer is that the modern Court "balances" interests and that it *knows* that this process only expresses what the Court thinks best rather than any interpretation of the Constitution. In short, in the age of innocence the Court believed it should interpret the Constitution and tried to do so, while in the modern age the Court neither believes in interpretation nor tries to do it.

This is—or ought to be—a shocking charge. In effect, Wolfe describes the highest court in the land as self-consciously lawless. Upon examination, I think, Wolfe's claim is not entirely convincing, but it gives way to another, perhaps equally sobering conclusion.

Consider Wolfe's treatment of modern free-speech cases. He pinpoints the basic problem as reliance on Holmes's famous rule that the government may

Wayne Lutton is on the staff of The Summit, in Manitou Springs, Colorado, and is the co-author, with Palmer Stacy, of The Immigration Time Bomb.

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Robert F. Nagel is a professor of law at the University of Colorado at Boulder.

Terry Teachout is a senior editor of Harper's Magazine *and an editor of the conservative newsletter* Modern Times.

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RANDOM NOTES

☐ LATE OCTOBER TITLES: *Churchill's View: The Battle of Britain Remembered* (Paragon House, $18.95), by John Willis, is a suspenseful account of the events of the summer of 1940, presented chiefly through the consciousness of six men who piloted the Spitfires, Hurricanes, and Messerschmitts that participated in one of the principal conflicts of World War II.

The Voice of Prose: Early Prose and Autobiography (Grove, $19.95), by Boris Pasternak, as edited by Christopher Barnes, is an interesting volume intended to make the Russian novelist and story writer better known to the English-speaking public.

☐ MORE NOVEMBER TITLES: *Fidel: A Critical Portrait* (Morrow, $19.95), by Tad Szulc, is in fact almost entirely *uncritical*: For Szulc, Castro is "a virtuoso of politics," "a master of strategy and tactics as well as a master of timing," whose revolutionized Cuba is closer to a humanistic paradise than to a Soviet Gulag. . . . In *Lillian Hellman: A Life* (Simon & Schuster, $18.95), William Wright tells some plain truths about one of the great bitches of the twentieth century, to the indignant distress of portions of the American literary establishment.

A View from the Stands: Of People, Politics, the Military Power, and the Arts (Houghton Mifflin, $22.95), by John Kenneth Galbraith, as arranged and edited by Andrea D. Williams, is a collection of short writings culled from a period of three decades and on such diverse subjects as arms control, Harvard University, the novels of Evelyn Waugh, Henry Luce in profile, the craft of H. L. Mencken and Robertson Davies, Brazil and Argentina observed, etc., etc. . . . In *Washington Bedtime Stories: The Politics of Money and Jobs* (Free Press, $19.95), Herbert Stein—who has devoted his services as economic advisor to three Republican Administrations, "balancing uncertainties in the presence of ignorance"—offers a compendium of speeches, columns, and articles, all wittily argued and, in their totality, conducive to long nights of aggravated frustration-dreams.

☐ COMING IN DECEMBER: In *Great Battles of World War II* (Macmillan, $35), John Macdonald offers a pictorial survey of well-known and obscure actions, all of them tersely presented and effectively illustrated by maps, paintings, and photographs. The publishers have included, as well, a foreword by General Sir John Hackett. —CW

suppress only speech having a "clear and present danger" of creating a serious harm. Wolfe complains that this test "by its nature requires a particularized showing, and the burden is on the government to do the showing." Quite correctly, Wolfe concludes that this establishes a kind of judicial supremacy, because "It is the legislature that now must justify itself before the bar of the Court . . ." He is also correct in asserting that the Court's free-speech rules are based in part on its views about "the indispensable conditions of an open . . . society." But how is any of this significantly different from Chief Justice Marshall's approach? Like Marshall, the modern jurists, who favor freedom of speech, look to the words of the Constitution as containing principles rather than simply the specific applications intended by the Framers. They, like Marshall, frame these principles by reference both to the text and to general considerations like "the requirements of government."

Wolfe may well be right that many modern judges are accepting and self-conscious about their role as "legislators." But does this mean that they believe they are merely imposing their private preferences? Consider more fully Justice Brennan's reply to Attorney General Meese. Although he had earlier warned of excessive reliance on the Framers' intent, Brennan attempted to justify constitutional limits on majoritarian pressures by pointing to the understanding of "those who drafted our Constitution." Brennan then itemized some constitutional values to be protected from political pressures and concluded that "to remain faithful to the content of the Constitution, therefore, an approach to interpreting the text must account for the existence of these substantive values." It was the *text* of the Constitution that Brennan described as "a sparkling vision of the supremacy of the human dignity of every individual."

If (as Wolfe says) Chief Justice Marshall "would claim" that his controversial decisions were not based on his private preferences, so would—so does—Justice Brennan. Those who would dismiss Brennan's claim as a pretense are, I think, underestimating the power of abstract ideas. His fervent moralism attests to the almost religious significance he sees in the Constitution rather than to a self-conscious effort to legislate mere private preferences.

Wolfe's book is provocative and useful, but the age of innocence is not over. Nor is that a consolation. The problem with judicial review, from Marshall's time till now, is that constitutional adjudication is inherently dangerous even when judges conscientiously try to base their decisions on the Constitution itself.

The danger arises because the felt necessity to apply the Constitution to myriad situations inevitably leads to simplification of the document's complexities and to suppression of its ambiguities and compromises. It arises because judges, constantly focusing on complaints and deficiencies in others and constantly having their own conclusions dignified as fundamental law, are pushed toward a messianism. The result is bound to be an excessive pursuit of certainty and a profound confusion between practical political arrangements and moral truth. The result is also bound to be an unfortunate stridency and intolerance in our public debate. ☐

HOW HIGH THE WALL?

Joseph Sobran

The Establishment Clause: Religion and the First Amendment, by Leonard W. Levy (Macmillan, 236 pp., $16.95)

LEONARD W. LEVY is one of our most respected constitutional scholars. He makes no secret of his liberal politics, but his careful researches—especially on the free-speech clause of the First Amendment—have often cut against his own predilections. So he has earned a serious hearing for his attack on conservative "nonpreferentialism" in *The Establishment Clause.*

Many conservatives, including Attorney General Meese and Chief Justice Rehnquist, have been arguing lately that the First Amendment's prohibition against an establishment of religion wasn't intended to prohibit *all* federal aid to religion, but only aid favoring one religion over another. Aid to religion-in-general, they argue, is permitted.

Levy flatly disputes this. He leans most heavily on the most authoritative of the Framers, James Madison, who opposed *all* aid to religion, state and federal, preferential and nonpreferen-

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tial, and who asserted: "There is not a shadow of right in the general [i.e., federal] government to intermeddle with religion." He also cites such devout Christians as John Leland (also cited by Jerry H. Combee in "Evangelicals and the First Amendment," *NR*, Oct. 24), who agreed with Madison, to show that total opposition to federal involvement in religion was neither an exclusively Deist idea nor a later secularist anachronism.

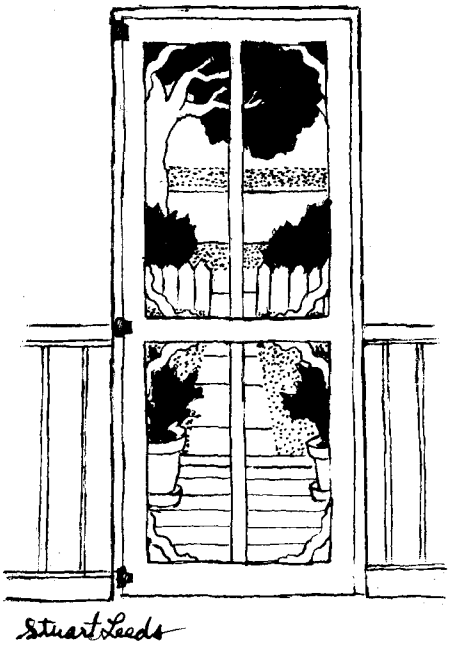
Though he adduces a good deal of historical evidence for this point, Levy's strongest argument is simply that it was understood on all sides that the new national government was given no power to legislate with respect to religious matters. Obviously true. This is why men like Hamilton thought a Bill of Rights would be superfluous, confusing, and misleading. As Hamilton said: "For why declare that things shall not be done which there is no power to do? Why, for instance, should it be said that the liberty of the press shall not be restrained, when no power is given by which restrictions may be imposed?"

The trouble with this argument is that the Federal Government has long been ignoring the enumerated-powers doctrine. It has no explicit power to aid the fine arts or make Social Security payments, but it does so anyway. That puts all the weight on the establishment clause, which, however, forbids only the Federal Government, not the states, to legislate about religion.

Here is where Levy's argument gets into trouble. He is forced to fall back on the doctrine that the Fourteenth Amendment "incorporates" the Bill of Rights against the states. But he knows that the incorporation doctrine has also come under recent attack. And the best he can do by way of defending it is to say: "To expect the Supreme Court to turn back the clock by scrapping the entire incorporation doctrine is so unrealistic as not to warrant consideration."

Here, we may note, he abandons the argument from original intent, where he has otherwise been willing to meet conservatives on their own ground, and settles for the uneasy asseveration that it's just not politically feasible to "turn back the clock." Not today, maybe, but tomorrow?

Besides, he has to meet the argument of such scholars as Edward S. Corwin and Robert G. McCloskey that an



establishment of religion, *in itself*, is not a violation of the personal right to the free exercise of religion. And here his own argument becomes even more strained: "Taxes spent for religion violate the right to support religion voluntarily and privately." If so, then government publications must be violations of the right of freedom of the press. Then there are simple facts: England has a religious establishment *and* freedom of religion; Albania has neither.

Levy's final argument is that, when all is said and done, the American system of separating church and state is a good deal for everyone. He deprecates the fundamentalists who, he thinks, would like to change this arrangement, but he also thinks separationists get "silly"—and ask for trouble—when they go to such extremes as demanding that the inscription "In God we trust" be removed from coins.

His plea for "common sense" about such minimal matters is unexceptionable, except that others might appeal to his warning elsewhere that "big oaks grow from small acorns" and to Madison's remark, which he quotes approvingly, that we must take alarm at "the first experiment on our liberties." We differ as much about what's "silly" as about what true religion is. The note of compromise Levy ends on is pleasant, but unsatisfying.

Probably he senses that his whole thesis is too abstract to be very helpful and that it leaves too many loose ends in practice. What about those who argue that laws against abortion constitute an establishment of religion? He may think the contention is silly, but nobody can call it trivial. It shows that the problems swirling around the idea of separationism aren't being raised only by conservatives—"reactionaries," as he biliously calls them. "Common sense" is a pretty feeble prescription for resolving such controversies.

But conservatives will have to be more cautious in their assertions about "original intent" while Levy is afoot. He makes it hard to doubt that the Framers wanted the Federal Government to stay out of the whole area of religion. I wish he were more respectful of their intention that it stay out of other areas where it was given no power, but there I go, turning back the clock.

On one point, transcending the scope of this book, Levy is worth quoting again and again. His criticism applies to all judges who try to make policy: "Too few judicial opinions conflict with the personal views of the Justices as private citizens. A judge who does not with some regularity reach judgments that conflict with his private policy views is not confronting complicated constitutional questions with sufficient disinterestedness or intellectual rectitude." The man who said that is worthy to sit on any court. □

CATASTROPHE WAITING TO HAPPEN

Wayne Lutton

Mexico: Chaos on Our Doorstep, by Sol Sanders (Madison Books, 256 pp., $18.95)

NEARLY THREE YEARS have passed since General Paul Gorman, then head of the Panama-based U.S. Southern Command, warned members of the Senate Armed Services Committee that "unless there is a dramatic change . . . Mexico will be the number-one security problem of the United States." Gorman went on to note that Mexico City was "the center for subversion throughout Central America," adding that Mexico had "the most corrupt government and society" south of our border.

Although the State Department quickly disavowed Gorman's comments, his

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blunt warning about the looming threat to our security presented by events in Mexico was both timely and credible. His indictment is echoed, and expanded upon in considerable detail, by Sol Sanders, a veteran foreign-affairs analyst, in his new and highly readable book, *Mexico: Chaos on Our Doorstep.*

Sanders's thesis is simply that, given the intimacy of our relationship, there is no way we will be able to avoid the harmful effects of a Mexican breakdown. As Mexico enters a new period of turmoil, how is the U.S. to cope with a country that has a booming population and a growing incapacity to feed and govern itself? With a two-thousand-mile border that is virtually undefended, trouble in Mexico invariably spells big trouble for the United States.

The author demonstrates a grasp of the relevant Mexican history and politics that is rarely found in treatises coming out of U.S. universities and think-tanks. He looks beyond analyses of the current financial crisis and points out that the root cause of Mexico's present troubles is its antiquated political system, tied to the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). [See also "Does Mexico Need a Revolution?" by George Byram Lake, p. 32.] In U.S. academic circles, discussions about the so-called "Mexican Model" are still popular. But behind the myth of a party that is said to encompass and balance all political views is the reality of an increasingly inept and corrupt one-party state. Sanders points out that, despite protestations to the contrary, "no more highly centralized system exists anywhere in the world outside the Communist bloc than in Mexico."

That political system is today being strained by a number of factors, chief among them being a failing economy increasingly dominated by the Marxist-oriented government. Aggravating the economic situation is an incredible demographic explosion. Although some conservatives are uncomfortable with the very notion of "over-population," Mexico's population mushroomed from 15 million people in the early 1920s to eighty million by 1985, and is expected to exceed 130 million in less than twenty years. More than 800,000 new workers, for whom there were no jobs, entered the labor force in 1984. A million more jobless new workers arrived in 1985, and 1.2 million this year. Those figures will continue to rise. Under the best of conditions it would be difficult for Mexico to maintain both stability and economic progress. But, as we know, the best of conditions are not present in Mexico, and there are few grounds for believing that the dismal pattern will be reversed anytime in the foreseeable future.

Although corruption has characterized Mexican governments since the Conquest, recent administrations have compiled a record for rapaciousness that can only cause envy among politicians in this country. Apart from the normal (for Mexico) bureaucratic and electoral corruption, the earthquakes last year revealed yet another layer of institutionalized dishonesty: Among the ruins of the Judicial Police office in

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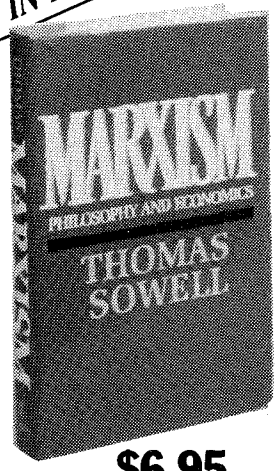

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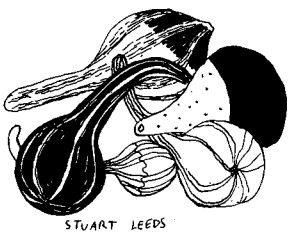
Mexico City were found the bodies of tortured prisoners. And rescue operations were hampered by policemen busy looting damaged buildings and robbing the dead and injured.

Sanders's study supports General Gorman's charge that Mexico is playing an increasingly key role in Soviet machinations in this hemisphere. Although Mexico is dependent on U.S.-subsidized food imports, the government has been providing military and economic aid to the Sandinistas. While the U.S. has been arranging a rescheduling of Mexico's $90-billion external debt, Mexico has extended credit to Cuba. Mexico is allowing its territory to be used for the training of pro-Communist guerrillas operating against Guatemala. And Mexico has long permitted a huge Soviet and Cuban "diplomatic" presence: The Soviet embassy in Mexico City is the largest in the world and is believed by many in the intelligence community to be the Soviets' center of espionage against the United States.



One of the most intriguing points Sanders raises is the ongoing influence in Mexico of Spanish Republican émigrés. Following the defeat of the Communists in Spain in 1939, Mexican president Lázaro Cárdenas welcomed some 75,000 Spanish Republicans to settle in his country. These Spanish leftists, and now their children, came to dominate the universities and cultural institutions, and gained a preponderant position in the professions. It seems that, having failed in their own revolution, the Spanish Republican Communists have been working to shape the course of events in their adopted country.

Since before World War II, Americans have enjoyed the luxury of being able to ignore our southern border. This situation will not continue. In a recent speech given in Washington, D.C., Sol Sanders suggested that "we are at one of those imperceptible watersheds in the history of U.S. foreign policy, where enormous changes are about to take place but are only faintly discernible to most observers." While "must reading" is a phrase much overused by reviewers, Sanders's important book certainly does much to focus attention on what may accurately be described as a catastrophe just waiting to happen. □

MAN IN THE KNOW

Joe Mysak

The Fringes of Power: 10 Downing Street Diaries 1939-1955, by John Colville (Norton, 796 pp., $25)

In October of 1939, John Colville, a 24-year-old member of the British Foreign Office, was approached by one of Neville Chamberlain's private secretaries and asked whether he would like to be an assistant private secretary to the prime minister. "He said it was an interesting job, which would mean 'being in the know' the whole time, but that it would entail a good deal of drudgery."

The British have always favored understatement. What Mr. Colville, now Sir John, got when he accepted the post turned into the opportunity to serve under Winston S. Churchill at the peak of his career and to be part of "one of the greatest administrations which has ever governed the United Kingdom."

He did not think so at first, of course. A staunch Chamberlain man, he thought Churchill an opportunist and reckless adventurer of the most dangerous stripe. The view was shared by many politicians at the time, but Churchill proved to be more substantial and less mercurial than that, and, by June of 1940, Colville had come to think of him as irreplaceable.

"I represent to them something which they wholeheartedly support: the determination to win," Churchill told his young assistant in October of 1940, as they drove through an enthusiastic crowd. "For a year or two they will cheer me." They cheered him until 1945, to be precise, and again, though with diminished gusto, from 1951 to 1955. Colville was there, except for a tour of duty with the RAF, for almost all of it.

The story of the fall of France, the Blitz, and the "finest hour" of the Battle of Britain is a familiar one. What Colville brings to it is a sense of agonizing and detailed immediacy. One slogs through the entries and marvels alternately at the close attention paid to daily details and arguments that would later prove meaningless, and the tenacity with which the British fought, and how well they did with the little they had. Yet the author also sets before us the incomparable Churchill, and no matter how many books you have read about the Great Man, he is too good to leave for long.

Colville delivers the always endearing Churchill behind the scenes in industrial draughts. He tries out lines that weeks later will end up in speeches, acts the tyrant of 10 Downing Street, and holds forth at dinner.

Make no mistake, however: This is a bittersweet and melancholy tale, and one of many endings—of the Empire, of Britain as a world power, of freedom for large sections of Central and Eastern Europe, of Churchill himself. Not even the great character of Churchill can redeem the story. He knew it, too; as his secretary recorded in December of 1940, "This was the moment for him; he was determined not to prolong his career into the great period of reconstruction." Of course, when the time came, he could not go gently into retirement, and instead came back to form a sad and senescent government in 1951.

"Never give in, and you will never regret it," he said. He had "no intention of being cheated over Poland, not even if we go to the verge of war with Russia." And "a lot of people talked a lot of nonsense when they said wars never settled anything; nothing in history was ever settled except by wars." Such brave talk went for naught in the face of Allied naïveté and Russian belligerence. Even Churchill, who was surprisingly prescient about most things, did not believe the trashing would come so swiftly.

William Manchester, who is working on the second volume of his own biography of "the last lion," estimates that Churchill is the subject of 81 per cent of these diaries. But Colville provides lots of detail of life in London's younger set—morning gallops in St. James's Park between the shell craters, tours of Wren churches before they're all blown up, gossipy remarks like, "Well, what do you think of that little bitch Jan?" and weekend visits to those rusticated piles the British insist on calling country houses.

Like any collection of diaries, *The*

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Fringes of Power is also a primary source, and its author takes his responsibilities to future historians seriously, sometimes a little too seriously. A typical footnote identifies one Tom Fitzwilliam thus: "10th and last Earl Fitzwilliam, owner of Wentworth and Milton. He married Joyce, widow of Lord Fitzalan of Derwent, was renowned as a judge of foxhounds, and was a kind and generous host." Colville also provides a section of "Biographical Notes" containing well over a hundred capsule biographies of figures as diverse as Joseph P. Kennedy, Lady Annabel Dodds, and Montgomery of Alamein, Field Marshal, 1st Viscount, KG, GCB, DSO, who, Colville tells us, "formed the unattractive habit, then and after the war, of denigrating all the American commanders." *The Fringes of Power* is eloquent history. □

UNDERGROUND MAN

Jeffrey Meyers

Dostoevsky: The Stir of Liberation, 1860-1865, by Joseph Frank (Princeton, 395 pp., $29.50)

THIS VOLUME—the third of five projected volumes in this learned and magisterial biography—describes the influence of the social and political background of Dostoyevsky's Russia on his intellectual and artistic development. Frank believes that "the purely extrinsic, anecdotal details of the private life . . . can be presented in terms of the writer's work and strictly subordinated to a fuller delineation of the social-cultural and literary context much more directly linked with creative production." He compensates for a lack of personal details, dramatic scenes, and narrative sweep, which are what normally sustain a reader's interest in biography, with mastery of the material, analytical acuity, and intellectual depth.

The revolutionary agitation against Czar Alexander II, which followed the liberation of the serfs in 1861 and the suppression of the Polish rising in 1863, forced Dostoyevsky to align himself with the anti-radical opposition. He hoped to calm the passions that were leading the revolutionaries to disaster and provoking the frightened government to measures of severe repression. But it proved impossible to criticize the moral dangers in the intelligentsia's desire to establish human life on "rational" foundations, which would replace Dostoyevsky's belief in the God-given order of Orthodox Russia, without seeming to support the repressive measures of the government.

This volume begins with Dostoyevsky's sudden change of fortune as he returns from prison and military service in Siberia in December 1859, reenters literary life in St. Petersburg as editor of two important magazines, *Time* and *Epoch* (one suppressed in 1863, the other bankrupt in 1865), and participates in vicious journalistic wars with enemies who openly mock the epilepsy he had acquired in exile. One friend was captivated by Dostoyevsky's "unusual mind, the speed with which he seized on every idea after just a simple word or allusion." Another acquaintance described him as a "naïve, not entirely lucid, but very nice person. He believes with enthusiasm in the Russian people."

While Dostoyevsky's wife was dying of tuberculosis, he first had a flirtation with the actress Alexandra Shubert and then a frustrating love affair with the writer Apollinaria Suslova. Dostoyevsky courted the girl, who was twenty years his junior, while worried about his wife's health, exhausted by literary obligations, and depressed by recurrent epileptic attacks. By the time Dostoyevsky met her in Paris in 1863, on his second trip abroad, she had been seduced and abandoned by a passionate Spaniard. She took vengeance on her ex-and-would-be Russian lover by withholding the favors she had granted to her Spanish one. An ironic episode occurred when Dostoyevsky, traveling with Suslova in the guise of a relative, met Russian friends on the boat from Naples and was forced to watch the young son's ardent courtship of his own former mistress.

As a young man, Dostoyevsky had dreamed of traveling to Italy, but he had landed, instead, in Siberia. A committed Slavophile, he found the Germans hard to take, the French nauseating, the Swiss dull, and the English "rotten to the core with greed for gold yet consumed with vanity at their own moral perfection." His one solace was a mania for gambling, which swept over him whenever he came to Europe and which inevitably led to

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disastrous losses. Frank convincingly argues that Dostoyevsky's gambling was an attempt "to assuage his guilt by compensating [the wife and brother] he had abandoned and betrayed, while receiving reassurance and absolution [from the gods] for his adulterous relation with Suslova."

Dostoyevsky's three major works of this period show his unequaled power to portray extravagant behavior, psychological enigmas, and the irrational depths of the soul—to place characters in extreme situations that reveal profound moral reactions. In *The Insulted and Injured* he illustrates "the impotence of reason to contend with the dark mysteries of human existence" when his characters overcome the "egoism of suffering" with an act of forgiveness and love. Frank discusses *The House of the Dead*—the first prison memoir in Russian literature—as social history that sparked a debate on justice and imprisonment, as an encounter of an educated man with the Russian people, and as an expression of Dostoyevsky's hostility to radical ideology. Frank perceives *Notes from the Underground* as "a brilliant Swiftian satire, remarkable for the finesse of its conception and the brio of its execution, which dramatizes the dilemmas of a representative Russian personality attempting to live by" the principle of egoistic individualism.

THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

AFTER THREE YEARS, Pascal Bruckner's *Le Sanglot de l'homme blanc* —first published in France in 1983 to praise from, among other critics, Jean-François Revel—makes its appearance in the United States as *The Tears of the White Man: Compassion as Contempt* (Free Press, $17.95), to praise from Jeane Kirkpatrick and a laudatory review in the *New York Times*. The enthusiasm on both sides of the Atlantic is deserved: Bruckner's book is indeed what Revel says it is, a very important work. In fact, it is one of the finest and most stylish (in William R. Beer's English translation) volumes of historical polemicism published in the last 25 years.

The Tears of the White Man is a coruscating critique of Third Worldism, an affliction virulent in left-wing circles since the dismemberment of the great European empires following World War II, but more especially since the Bandung Conference of Colored Peoples in 1955, from which the idea of the Third World as a political bloc took shape. According to Bruckner, Third Worldism is expressed in three fundamental attitudes: solidarity with, pity for, and imitation of the Third World. In the first instance, the underlying assumption is that "their fight is our fight"—that the peoples of the West are also oppressed by the forces of industrial capitalism; so that (as Beer puts it in his introduction) "every time a Communist guerrilla shoots a soldier in El Salvador, I am a little freer; every time lesbians demonstrate for the right to adopt children, the herdsmen of the Sudan are a little freer." In the second, it is that (to quote Beer again), "because we are rich and they are poor, we are their oppressors. . . . Our wealth is the cause of their poverty . . . [and] our tolerance and democracy are possible only because they are based on our wealth, which in turn is the cause of the suffering of the poor." In the third, a loss of natural wisdom and innocence by the West is postulated, and primitive peoples are imagined as being closer to nature, to their own selves and to each other, than we are.

These attitudes, Bruckner argues, informed left-wing analyses and rhetoric until quite recently, when Western supporters of banana-republic Lenins, pajama'd Napoleons ordering the extermination of Asiatic millions from their air-conditioned compounds, and crazed African monsters who (literally) ate their opponents for breakfast turned their backs in horror on the former repositories of their enthusiasm and looked once more to home. (This is the author's reading of the Left's present mood, which, from my American perspective, seems rather less quiescent and disillusioned than Bruckner would have it.) Each of these attitudes is accompanied with imputations of racism on the part of Western peoples and their governments, when, in fact, the progressive view is no less racist than the bad old imperialist one.

The reason for this is, of course, that the Revised Standard view of the Third World is no less Eurocentric than the one it replaced: "As kings of iniquity and princes of infamy, we are still at the apex of history. . . . We are still at the center, after all. . . . We admit our fault, but at the same time get a childish pleasure from being the source of all the horror in the world." To no less a degree than in our great-grandfathers' day, the Native is defined, not by what he himself is, but rather by our idea of him; so that whereas, a century ago, a Tibetan lama, an Apache savage, or a Calcutta coolie was a teleologically incomplete Oxford graduate, today a Cuban cane-cutter, Salvadoran coffee-picker, or Iranian mullah is merely a revolutionary poster-face on the dormitory wall of a Columbia undergraduate. For more than two hundred years, the Western imagination has been captivated by the image of the Noble Savage, living undisturbed in the pristine Eden from which he beckons to us: what, then, more shocking than to find him, set free from his oppressors, oppressing others in his turn. Naturally the fault lies not in himself, but in the overdeveloped savages who corrupted him. Naturally his salvation lies, not in further imitation of the West, but in turning his back on its example. The Third World-lovers cannot grant him the moral autonomy of making his own mistakes; cannot grant him even the fundamental human capabilities for sin and inhuman behavior. Instead of a human being, they see only a romantic projection of their own fantasies, which, going unfulfilled, cause them to turn away in disgust, muttering imprecations against the CIA, Nestlé's, and the World Bank.

"Third Worldism," Bruckner concludes, "constantly confuses guilt and responsibility," in a perversion of the unique European habit for self-scrutiny and self-criticism. And yet, "the foregoing teaches us this: that hatred of the West is really a hatred of all cultures concentrated on a single one. In the beginning, one finds nothing lovable in oneself, but in the end, one loses the ability to love others. . . . Every self-destructive wish carries with it a generalized negativity that envisions the end of the world." □

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This volume closes with a succession of crushing events: the deaths of Dostoyevsky's wife and his beloved brother, Mikhail, and the collapse of his magazine *Epoch*. But Dostoyevsky had "the vitality of a cat," and his failure as editor was his salvation as a writer. During the next five years he would marry another young woman, flee to Europe to escape his creditors, and, under the pressure of necessity, produce three of his greatest novels. □

FILM

AIMEZ-VOUS PASCAL?

John Simon

HARDLY HAVE I got through decrying *Blue Velvet* for you before there is Bertrand Blier's *Ménage* to bemoan. The French title is *Tenue de soirée*, evening dress, almost never worn by the characters, which tells you right away what sort of contrariness is afoot. *Ménage* is a French *Blue Velvet*. Instead of being made by a primitive from Montana, it is the work of a slick Parisian; instead of being illiterate and, ultimately, stupidly optimistic, it is literate and steadily, cynically downbeat. But it makes just as little sense on any level, is equally eager to throw any ingredient into the pot as long as it passes for spicy, and is no less hotly in pursuit of the bizarre without the slightest regard for truth.

But in Blier there is something worse: contempt for all, and especially for women. The mockery lacerates everyone and everything without any hint of a moral or aesthetic value in whose name human shortfall may be assessed. In almost all previous Blier films—and certainly in the best-known ones, *Going Places* and *Get Out Your Handkerchiefs*—there are two male friends in implicit (or even explicit, though casual and random) homosexual involvement, even if they are always nominally heterosexual. Significantly, they compete for and share the same woman, whom they abuse or are abused by. This *folie à trois* reduces everyone, but tends to degrade the woman most.

In *Ménage*, the misanthropy, the repressed or downplayed homosexuality, and the rampaging misogyny are in full swing. Still, one could make a movie out of this, either painful or sardonic, either socially critical or blackly farcical, if only one played by some set of rules, maintained elementary coherence, and knew where one was going. Blier cannot claim any of these niceties, and has even admitted his dissatisfaction with the ending (one of several he toyed with); he depends, instead, on ever greater outrageousness, and on making his movie lurch forward in any direction save that of credibility.

An unhappily married couple is fighting in a café: Monique accuses Antoine of dragging her into abject poverty; he feebly apologizes and doggedly proclaims his love, which only makes her insult him worse. Along comes Bob, a strapping fellow who sits down with them and takes over their lives. He humiliates and wallops Monique over puny Antoine's attempts to defend her, then throws wads of money at the pair. Bob is a master burglar who can (literally) smell gold a block off, then walk into a house that simply opens itself for him, and head for the loot like a pigeon for home. The three embark on a fairy-tale crime spree: Besides money, the houses provide first-rate food and living quarters; if the owners show up, they are so jaded as to welcome the burglars; on the one occasion the police appear, they conveniently save the thieves from an unwelcome sexual orgy initiated by their would-be victims.

Monique falls for Bob and assumes reciprocity. But no: He rejects her even more brutally than she does her husband, and starts courting the mousy, unattractive Antoine with the most passionate dedication. The scorned and shattered Monique nevertheless hangs around and urges her shocked spouse

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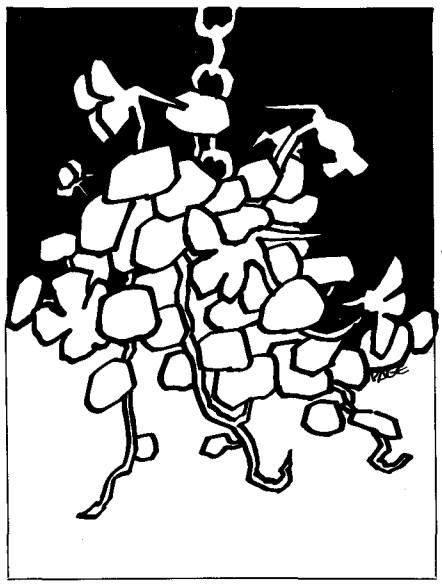
to yield. Speaking from long, promiscuous experience, she assures him that anal intercourse is no picnic for women either, yet *they* have put up with it, so why not he? Like Antoine, Bob insists that he is no homosexual, and there is indeed some hanky-panky between Bob and Monique, but Bob's passion for Antoine duly wins out, even as the latter keeps asserting his love for his wife.

By now psychological veracity is all but expunged, but it gets the *coup de grâce* when Bob tries to lure Antoine into the clutches of a wealthy homosexual art collector, who, as it appears, had hired him to procure the little fellow. If Bob is, as suggested both before and after, madly in love with Antoine, what's this about having done it all for the art collector's money? And if he knows the Open Sesame to every Parisian mansion and its treasures, why should this valiant burglar have to moonlight as a pimp? And even if Bob, out of some quirk, should fall for a drab little nonentity, surely that is not what a wealthy homosexual with lavish tastes would pay a boodle for. In fact, such a man would scarcely need the services of a pimp; he could get full satisfaction directly from the Parisian *demi-* or, indeed, *beau monde*.

Forthwith, however, Bob, Antoine, and Monique are ensconced in a cheerful little nest in Montmartre, where the two men live as husband and wife, with Monique as their servant, menial and sex-starved. In a much earlier scene, she was having intercourse with a man whom Bob and Antoine were robbing while the man's wife slept on the other side of the bed; the wife woke up, and clamored for her share in the fun. Now the shoe is on the other foot—or, more exactly, Monique's cot is smack at the foot of the big, comfy bed in which Bob and Antoine, to her humiliation and chagrin, are thrashing about in sexual ecstasy.

It is all as ugly as it is nonsensical, but, never fear, weirder permutations and peripeties are presently dragged in. Skipping over much, I shall merely relate that Monique is turned into a cheap prostitute in the very dance hall where Antoine, desperate and now always in drag, chases after Bob, who is dancing and about to make off with another man, a typical male whore. (Remember, Bob is no homosexual!) Soon a murder takes place, without



the slightest legal or moral consequences, and, in the end, we find Monique and the two men in drag doing the sidewalks together on a chilly day (as if regular whores and transvestite ones worked the same streetcorner). Business being slow, they take a break at a nearby lunch counter.

Suddenly, one of the guys (I forget which, though by this time they are pretty interchangeable, anyway) asks Monique whether she remembers Pascal. I shuddered; here comes, I thought, the obligatory bit of philosophical attitudinizing with which to top off such a Gallic confection. But it turns out even worse: Pascal is a son whom Monique has abandoned somewhere. Heaven knows where or who his father is, and why he has never been mentioned before. As the two men in drag go back to ply their trade, Monique lingers at the counter; she is lost in a teary reverie. If this summary gives away too much and spoils your fun, I am truly sorry, though I cannot imagine how something as thoroughly rotten as *Ménage* can be spoiled. Neither can I imagine how this movie could become the hit of France, then go on to garner high critical praise in America, and be headed for what looks like assured audience success.

What bothers me most is not the moral or sexual perversion; rather, it is the perverting of all narrative and structural logic. Here a dab of realism, there several dollops of out-and-out fantasy; here a person practices one kind of sexuality, there another kind; here a feeling is real, there it is shown up as phony, yonder it is more genuine than ever; here it is all a big joke, there a woman is reduced to abjection and a dead man bleeds. Forget about a sense of time and place: We don't know how much time elapses between scenes, or where we are at a given moment, or how we got from one point to another. And just when one character seems a trifle better, or at least more pitiable, than the others and begins to elicit a bit of sympathy, bingo, he or she proves viler than the rest. Even a satire (assuming that this is one) against the entire human race must allow us a glimpse of something better, if no more than a notion of lost goodness in the author's head. In *Gulliver's Travels*, there are the giants and the horses; in *The Dunciad*, there is the orderly mind of Alexander Pope. In *Ménage*, no one is any good, and the mind of the creator seems to be the most jaundiced, gloating, and spitefully destructive of all.

True, Blier knows how to write dialogue. Though extremely mean-spirited, the writing has sophistication and spurts of cruel wit, occasionally even innocent dementia. Some scenes, moreover, are well staged and neatly photographed, and the acting is fine. I am getting rather tired of Gérard Depardieu, even if it is traditional for French movies to overexploit periodically one star or another, whether it is Gabin or Montand, Belmondo or Ventura, or, long ago, even Bertrand Blier's unappealing father, Bernard. But here Depardieu takes impressive risks for a heart-throb, and his goofy, flabby Bob is an authentic creation. Miou-Miou is as winning as ever: She plays Monique as low as Blier wants her to, and even if she cannot salvage the character, she preserves her appeal as an actress and a woman. As for Michel Blanc, he is, though extremely homely, instinct with charm and, even in this preposterous part, intermittently touching. That Bob should fall so in love with him is not made credible, but that is the fault of the poor script rather than of Blanc's measly looks.

What *Ménage* proves above all else is a need for and relish of anomie among audiences and critics alike. There is a tremendous craving, not just for some old-fashioned, harmless nonsense, but for the deliberate trampling of every kind of rationality or consistency: Human minds are turning into lemmings hurtling toward the sea of unreason. Even if the critics cannot stop them, must they join them? □

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TELEVISION

SEARCHING FOR HORIZONTAL

Terry Teachout

TELEVISION'S IDEA of class is *Dynasty*: silk sheets and straight faces. The idea that a lowly sitcom might conceivably aspire to sophistication is anathema; indeed, ABC's *Moonlighting*, the first plausibly stylish sitcom in recent memory to score with a mass audience, was actually tagged as a dramatic series at this year's Emmy awards. (This, incidentally, is a typical example of television logic at work. Sitcoms are half an hour long. Each *Moonlighting* episode is an hour long. *Moonlighting* is thus a dramatic series.)

Being the hottest new show of the season, *Moonlighting* naturally pulled down 16 Emmy nominations. But television dotes on the familiar, and since *Moonlighting* was also the least predictable show of the season, it wound up winning exactly one award. The confusion is understandable. For not only has Glenn Gordon Caron, the creator of *Moonlighting*, broken out of the familiar half-hour sitcom mold, he's even had the audacity to steal from somebody comparatively new: Alfred Hitchcock.

Homages to Hitchcock turn up with some regularity on *Moonlighting*. (One episode actually lifted Bernard Herrmann's background music for *Vertigo*.) But the biggest homage is in the very conception of the series itself, which fits neatly into the mold of what Dorothy L. Sayers called the "love story with detective interruptions," a genre of which Hitchcock was the undisputed cinematic master and *North by Northwest* the grandly stylized archetype. The plot of *North by Northwest* is a mere distraction. Style is all: bizarre juxtapositions, sensational camera work, obliquely witty dialogue between Cary Grant and a gelid blonde. No one has ever tried anything quite like this on television, which is why *Moonlighting* seems so fresh.

There is, of course, more to *Moonlighting* than rewarmed Hitchcock. Caron has also lovingly gleaned such stock devices as overlapping dialogue, rapid-fire delivery, and climactic bursts of slapstick from Hollywood's old

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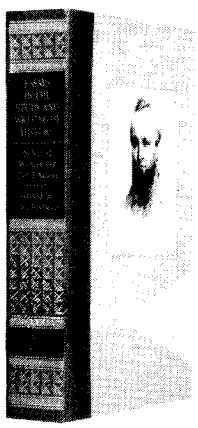

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"screwball" comedies. While some episodes of *Moonlighting* rely heavily on a straightforward whodunit plot, others throw out the plot altogether in favor of varyingly elaborate parodies of the more time-honored conventions of theatrical suspense. A typical example of this latter approach was last season's "The Dream Sequence Always Rings Twice," in which David Addison and Maddie Hayes, the principal characters on *Moonlighting*, dreamed different versions (shot in black and white) of the same James Cain jealous-husband-gets-stiffed story line. But the best *Moonlighting* scripts invariably use plot as a Wodehouse-like foundation over which the real suspense of the series is spun: When, if ever, will Dave and Maddie finally go to bed together?

This is where Caron and his oddball team of writers make common cause with the customary preoccupations of series television. The Law of Romantic Intersection says that any likely-looking TV couple will eventually fall in love, and much of the show's charm derives from the fact that Dave and Maddie are by far the most likely-looking couple on television. Cybill Shepherd, who plays Maddie, the blonde ex-model who owns the Blue Moon Detective Agency, is an amiably sexy foil. And Caron, in the series's most original touch, has replaced the suave Cary Grant figure of the original Hitchcock model with a hip baby-boomer. Bruce Willis's flawless portrayal of Dave, at once glib, cocky, and rueful, sets the tone for the show at least as much as do the scripts, and the easy confidence with which he handles the odd flashes of emotional seriousness that surface from time to time on *Moonlighting* leads one to suspect that a major movie career is just around the corner.

The producers of *Moonlighting* all too frequently mistake unevenness for unpredictability. The scripts oscillate wildly from fey and foolish fantasies (one client thought she was a leprechaun) to stodgy exercises in detection littered with poorly concealed clues. No more than one episode in three works all the way through. And there are two elements at war in almost every script: stylization and naturalism. Whenever stylization wins out—which can usually be measured by the number of times either Dave or Maddie speaks directly to the viewers at home in the course of an evening—the show suffers accordingly. One of last season's episodes, for instance, was prefaced by a scene in which Dave and Maddie spent a few moments answering letters from viewers, all of which asked if they were ever going to "get horizontal," the favored *Moonlighting* euphemism for carnal knowledge. This kind of archness can be hugely exasperating.

Will *Moonlighting* move toward greater naturalism or greater stylization? The dramatic balance of the series is unstable enough to suggest that some kind of shift is inevitable. One recent episode was a straight steal of Hitchcock's *Vertigo* plot with the Dave-Maddie relationship used strictly as seasoning. On the other hand, Caron has already announced plans to do an episode in iambic pentameter. Such unrestrained silliness could eventually turn *Moonlighting* into a cult failure. Viewers, after all, demand a steadily increasing degree of credibility from series characters on whose lives they eavesdrop once a week. The popular success of *Moonlighting* is undoubtedly a direct function of the warm and engaging relationship that Mr. Willis and Miss Shepherd manage to convey on the small screen. All of which suggests that the future of *Moonlighting* probably depends as much as anything else on whether Dave and Maddie ever quit looking to get horizontal. □

DELECTATIONS

FOOD, MONEY, CLASS

Nika Hazelton

WHEN DID FOOD become a matter of class in the United States? It may have happened when class in this country got to be a matter of money, and the classy but still insecure haves felt the need to proclaim their superiority over the have-nots any way they could. Food happens to be the easiest, least expensive, and most immediate way of showing off one's blessings —compare the price of even the most expensive grain of caviar with that of the cheapest emerald.

Over time, of course, fancy food habits do trickle down from above. Sweden and Denmark are good examples of this progression *de haut en bas*. For several centuries, these countries were ruled by aristocrats with luxurious food habits and tastes. These inspired the local masses to imitate them as well as they could, with the result that the food of Sweden and Denmark is far more interesting even today than that of the other Scandinavian countries.

In the United States, meanwhile, the contrast between rich and poor is far less pronounced today than it was a few decades ago and—far more importantly for culinary trends—so is the contrast between the middle and upper classes. Witness the luxury restaurants sprouting up, the increasing consumption of classy foods like caviar and foie gras, and the growing imports of exotic potables. Consumption of French champagne has risen; indeed, champagne, both domestic and imported, and wine coolers are the only growing categories in the depressed wine and liquor markets. Nor is this a "yuppie" phenomenon—I see people who are neither old rich nor about-to-be rich piling up their shopping carts with so-called gourmet items from the supermarket in our neighborhood. Perhaps it is a portent that even unfashionable neighborhoods now have better-stocked supermarkets.

But classiness in foods is not confined to exotic imports. Even vegetables have a social status. Why are cabbage and carrots not as highly regarded as lettuce and peas? Why would a cook rather serve guests asparagus than broccoli? Is it because of the difference in price? Size is also a factor in the social status of vegetables: the smaller, the better, and never mind that the miniature vegetables one buys at inflated prices don't taste as good as their full-grown brothers. Speaking for myself, I think that it is useless to serve good vegetables as adjuncts to a meat dish anyway. If the vegetable is worthy, make a separate course of it as the French do in their traditional cooking. But if you feel that your roast needs a touch of green, do as so

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many restaurants do: purée your veggie with butter and a little cream. Keep it hot over gently simmering water in the top of a double boiler, and you will find that the vegetable keeps much nicer and fresher than when it is cooked in the ordinary way.

Like a Ferris wheel, food snobberies keep on going up, down, and around. Why do expensive restaurants feature little mounds of cornmeal mush and call it *polenta*, in Italian, as if cornmeal mush were something special? Why are the heavy, greasy foods of the peasants who came to America in search of a better life now expensive and desirable? Why is sloppy Mexican food fashionable when children, so one hopes, are told to eat neatly? Why is it so important for rich women to be thin? Why is it less seemly to drink wine at lunch, even in moderation, than it is to drink Perrier water? And, finally, why is it stupid to go to a restaurant to enjoy dishes you can't possibly have at home, but classy to eat out for a restaurant's ambiance? Why, why, why? I ask myself when I cannot sleep at night, rather than meditate on spiritual matters. And when I am honest with myself, I have to admit that my English governess was right when she told my mother, many years ago, that I was not given to thinking serious thoughts, and never would be. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

A Baseball Winter: The Off-Season Life of the Summer Game, edited by Terry Pluto and Jeffrey Neuman (Macmillan, 312 pp., $16.95)

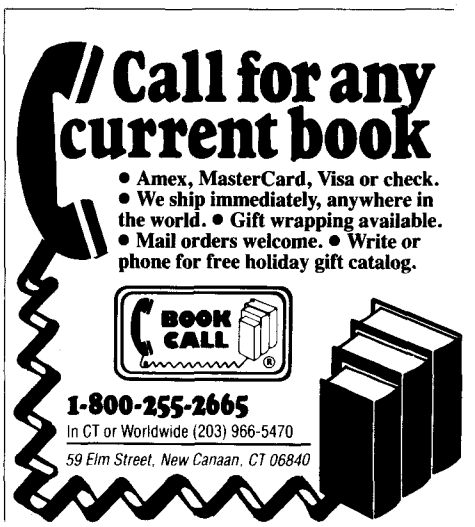
BASED ON the reports of five newspaper sports writers, *A Baseball Winter* chronicles the feverish activities of five major-league front offices during the 1984–85 off-season. The book shows how complex a business baseball has become, owing mostly to free agency, the most important change in the game's history. The formerly simple matters of player acquisition and retention have been turned into complicated problems by free agency's new ground rules (e.g., salary arbitration) and by the contract concessions (such as "guaranteed contracts" and "no-trade" clauses) that have become almost standard procedure. The editors depict in diary form the five front offices struggling to improve their clubs in the face of such complications. Even before the 1984 season ends, the clubs are planning for 1985. The Phillies, baseball's most aggressive traders, are determined to find pitching help, and "they unleash their front-office pointmen like so many sharks in a feeding frenzy." Worried about the injured Bob Horner, the Braves shop futilely for a new third baseman; owner Ted Turner, however, finally realizes his goal of landing a big-name free agent when he signs reliever Bruce Sutter to a $10-million contract. The Angels try to put a stop to their long-standing reliance on free agents but eventually resort to old ways, trading three young prospects for three high-priced Pittsburgh veterans. The most conservative operators in the market, the Mets, shock the baseball world by obtaining all-star catcher Gary Carter from the Expos. And in Cleveland the storied incompetence continues. Somehow the Tribe re-signs its one legitimate star, Andy Thornton, but it botches the Bert Blyleven situation, being forced to trade him to Minnesota for practically nothing in return. In the epilogue the editors check on the five teams halfway through the 1985 season. The Mets and Angels are in contention; the Braves, Phillies, and Indians are floundering, having the only type of "off-season" really left in baseball any more.

MIKE SHANNON

The Catholic Classics, by Dinesh D'Souza (Our Sunday Visitor, 168 pp., $6.95)

DINESH D'SOUZA'S collection of essays on Roman Catholic classics, more or less evenly divided between theological and literary interests, has garnered more endorsements than a newly promoted box of breakfast cereal. And that's only on the outside. Inside, there's a preface by John Cardinal O'Connor and a lucid and graceful introduction by William F. Buckley Jr. Cardinal O'Connor gives a sound explanation for all this enthusiastic endorsement of what proves to be a cogent but, in my opinion, relatively modest book. In the Forties, Cardinal O'Connor points out, books like *The Catholic Classics* were appearing all the time. Today, in the enlightenment of the postconciliar era, we have to be mildly shocked into recalling the very existence of these particular classics and the many more that are equally worthy of attention. Indeed, as William Buckley says, "What Dinesh D'Souza's remarkable volume does for us is sharply to remind us of the most neglected patrimony in civilization"—that which we find here in St. Augustine's *Confessions*, the *Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius, the Venerable Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas, Dante's *The Divine Comedy*, Blaise Pascal's *Pensées*, *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis, John Henry Newman's *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, G. K. Chesterton's *Orthodoxy*, and Thomas Merton's *The Seven Storey Mountain*. Most of these Christian classics, of course, are works translated from Latin and other languages, and yet D'Souza provides no recommendations as far as the various translations into English are concerned. For example, though D'Souza notes that Augustine's *Confessions* "is written in an ornate Latin style whose sentences never seem to end," there are available translations that do a pretty good job of overcoming these difficulties. Moreover, a reading of some of the most lucid prose produced in the nineteenth century should not have led anyone writing in the twentieth to say that a certain notable, in this case Cardinal Newman, "breathed his last," when all we mean is that he died. On the whole, however, *The Catholic Classics* is a delightful and informative reminder of a usable heritage we abandon at some risk. This volume comes at a time when what passes for Catholic thought and writing—in short, media Catholicism—is submerged in a morass of mediocrity.

THOMAS P. MCDONNELL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SAVED FROM THE BRINK

NEW YORK, OCT. 20

RONALD REAGAN'S faith in his own insights is a continuing inspiration, and I will happily contribute to any monument that would memorialize the chief of these, for instance: ON THIS PODIUM ON MARCH 23, 1983, PRESIDENT RONALD WILSON REAGAN ANNOUNCED HIS STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE, WHICH LED TO LIFTING THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST THAT TORMENTED MANKIND DURING MUCH OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

Mr. Reagan saved the day at Reykjavik by acting on that insight, but it was a very narrow miss, and the circumstances of the occasion have hugely enhanced the resources of the enemy, foreign and domestic. Yes, foreign and domestic.

Foreign because it should now be clear that the Soviet Union's obsessive fear of our Space Shield was behind the high drama of its proposals. Mind you, they were, in the end, empty proposals, but they were enough to dazzle minds parched for synthetic disarmament. The Soviet Union was going to eliminate intermediate-range nuclear weapons from Europe, in return for the United States' doing the same thing. Wow. Then the Soviet Union would reduce its strategic nuclear inventory by 50 per cent, and so would we. Double wow. And then by the end of the century, or perhaps earlier—who knows?—there would be a total elimination of nuclear bombs: and all of that, the result of a single meeting in Iceland. Sort of renews one's faith in the deliberative process, does it not?

Ronald Reagan would then have returned to the United States to answer a few questions. Among them: How would we in fact police the elimination of theater weapons by the Soviet Union? Given that these are mobile, exactly how would we find a hundred or two in the event that the Soviet Union followed its customary practice of cheating on treaties? What would "verifiable" mean? You could make a deal with a haystack giving you full rights to verify its agreement not to husband a needle, and you would have the agreement, but the haystack is pretty safe with its needle.

And the Soviet Union's strategic missiles are reduced by one-half. Reduced, to use round numbers, to five thousand. These are the intercontinental missiles, the ones that can pop El Paso, Texas, if told to do so. Question: How is Paris, France, or Florence, Italy, left safer by the apparent absence of the smaller, theater weapons? A missile capable of soaring 9,500 miles to its target can surely be directed to go a mere 950 miles to a closer target. Presumably the only argument against using it for such purposes would be the waste of gas, an extravagance the Soviet Union might be willing to put up with, in a tense situation.

Question: If indeed we are going to strip Western Europe of all nuclear weapons, what is it we would propose to do in the event that the Soviet army marched west into the area in which we have 16 American divisions? By what means would we propose to defend them? By firing nuclear warheads from Omaha, Nebraska? And since this is unlikely, what would be the effect on Western European politics of the apparent de-linking of America's nuclear umbrella from its little nuclear parasols within Western Europe?

And then, of course, the major question, the only question. What reason have we to believe that, on that critical open future date, the Soviet Union would actually agree to move across the apocalyptic threshold, defined as the point beyond which its entire remaining nuclear force would cease to threaten the entire United States? What evidence is there that it has ever crossed the mind of Gorbachev, or of any known likely successor to Gorbachev, so to emasculate Soviet nuclear power?

But hear now the peacenikery. Already, sundry U.S. senators have said that Ronald Reagan has missed the greatest opportunity since the Congress of Vienna to bring peace in our time. And the Social Democrats in Europe will raise a clamor alongside which the fight against the deployment of the Pershings and the cruise missiles was nothing. Their demand is horribly easy to formulate: Kill SDI. And the domestic enemies of the best opportunity the world will ever have to seek out at once freedom and independence, together with the elimination of the practical threat of nuclear confrontation, will go after Ronald Reagan, to kill SDI. They will fight him on the seas and oceans, in the air and on the beaches, they will fight him in the fields and in the streets and in the hills. They will never surrender. Ronald Reagan is beleaguered as he was never beleaguered before Reykjavik.

And only he, backed by the American people, can get us back on course. That course is the development of SDI. □

THE BISHOP'S PRESCRIPTIONS

NEW YORK, OCT. 22

THE PRESS IS everywhere writing about the tensions caused by what is referred to as the Pope's "crackdown" on "liberal" Catholics. Cited especially are Father Charles Curran of the Catholic University of America, who was told by the Vatican that he could not proceed to teach his theological doctrines at a university that is the teaching arm of the Vatican in the United States, and pronounce his teachings as "Catholic." The problem there, if you want to put it so, is that Catholic theology is, so to speak, copyrighted in the Vatican, and although the Church retains the liberty to change the construction of this or that doctrine, it is the Vatican that does this, not a local bottling plant. Right now, Pope John Paul II is opting for Classic Coke, and it is unlikely that any United States court is going to look hospitably on Father Curran's appeal to grant him the right to continue to teach at a Vatican institution as a theologian.

Next, the Pope cracked down on Archbishop Hunthausen, of Seattle, removing from him most of the authority regularly exercised by a bishop. It is not absolutely predicted whether the archbishop will accept this limitation on his authority with

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docility, docility not being the archbishop's strong point. A few years ago he announced that in order to protest the defense policies of the United States, he was going to subtract from his income tax one-half, the sum which, he calculated, was destined to go to the maintenance of our nuclear strategic force. It isn't easy to come up with a theological analogy to the bishop's civil disobedience. Perhaps along the way he will declare that unless he agrees with Vatican rulings, he will disobey five of the Ten Commandments.

But now we have Archbishop Rembert Weakland of Milwaukee, delivering a lecture before a Protestant theological center in which he has warned the Pope. Warned him of what? That if he keeps it up—this business of exercising his authority over such as Father Curran and Archbishop Hunthausen—the Pope runs the risk that the Catholic Church in the U.S. will degenerate, if that is a permissible word to use under the circumstances, into the condition of the Catholic Church in Holland. "The comparison to the Church in the Netherlands," explains the *New York Times* reporter, Joseph Berger, "seemed to underscore the influential archbishop's sense of urgency about recent Vatican actions . . . Dutch Catholics are among the most liberal in the world, and many in the Church there have distanced themselves from Rome and its teachings." Indeed, when the Pope went to Holland, he was inhospitably treated by many Catholics, who "bluntly challenged his stands on the role of women in the Church, birth control, and other issues," presumably including stripteases.

Archbishop Weakland, to continue the news story, "recalled that he visited the Netherlands in the summer of 1984 and found little attendance at Mass, a decline in the numbers of those pursuing the priesthood, and other indications of a dispirited church. 'I had the feeling that the Dutch Church was rather moribund,' he said."

Archbishop Weakland went on to warn that the American Catholic Church might move in the same direction as the Dutch Church. "He said," Mr. Berger summarized, "many American Catholics could drift away, feeling 'we don't have the energy to fight with that kind of thing.' " "The whole of American society," the bishop explained, "is anti-institutional, and they bring that attitude to the Church . . ."

Of course the implicit position of Bishop Weakland is that congregational loyalty is a function of an indistinguishability between how the Church says we ought to live, and how we choose to live. That assumption is not entirely easy to document. If it is true that the majority of American Catholics practice birth control in defiance of Church doctrine, neither of two things necessarily follows: 1) that Church doctrine is wrong; or 2) that loyalty to the Church would increase if Church doctrine were, to use the term of modern ethicists, "situationalized." Attendance at Mass was in fact much denser before Vatican II than after it; and, even though it is greatly reduced, Sunday worship remains leagues ahead of its counterpart in many of the Protestant churches where doctrinal disciplines are, well, museum pieces. If Archbishop Weakland runs out of energy, there are those who hope that lack of energy will also enervate his desire to introduce socialism to the United States. Let us hope that before that happens, there will still be enough church-attending Christians to pray efficaciously that he will fail. □

WHAT TO THINK BETWEEN SUMMITS

NEW YORK, OCT. 24

EVERYONE CONCERNED with Summit diplomacy has spoken, perhaps even overspoken, on Factor A, over against Factor A prime, up against Factor B, which is disguising the menace of Factor B prime. So, in the aftermath of Reagan and Gorbachev's meeting, shall we dwell on strategic footnotes—or search out extraeristic CAT scans into the Soviet mind?

I am inclined to do the latter, and nominate for very quick reading a mere half-page in the last issue of *Time* magazine, which condenses the memoirs of Yelena Bonner. She is the wife of Andrei Sakharov, the physicist who gave the Soviet Union the hydrogen bomb, in due course repented of the behavior of the government to which he had given it, and was exiled to Gorky five years ago.

We know all about the treatment of dissidents by the Soviet Union. Recently we effected the release of two of them, Yuri Orlov and his wife. It is probable that we petitioned, first, for the release of Sakharov, but the Soviet Union regularly uses as a reason for not releasing him that his plenipotentiary mind carries deep secrets of the kind that might damage the Soviet Union. But the thing Sakharov and his wife carry in their memory has less to do with variations on E equals MC squared, than with how Official Russia deals with those who are in disrepute, but whom, for complicated international reasons, Official Russia dares not simply eliminate (Stalin-style), or even sequester in Siberia (post-Stalin-style). Ever since he was exiled to Gorky, Sakharov, by various means, has managed to get out this or that detail of what he has been subjected to, but never in such detail as now, thanks to this wife's brief permission to visit Western doctors.

Mrs. Sakharov writes eloquently about what life is like in Gorky, under KGB surveillance. But this eye fastens on: the Sakharovs, and their automobile. Yes, they are one of the (few) Russians who actually own a car.

To have a car in the Soviet Union, even if you are restricted in where you can go with it, is on the order of having, in the United States, a newspaper-television-telephone-Telex-helicopter-congressman. Official Russia didn't want simply to remove the car from the Sakharovs, so it mounted instead something on the order of a National Security Council Operation Overlord.

1. When the Sakharovs declared a hunger strike, the KGB stole the car.

2. When the Sakharovs proceeded with their hunger strike (designed to solicit an exit visa for their daughter-in-law), the KGB called in to say, Hooray! Your car has been found! Come to 14 East Gorky and get it! The Sakharovs knew better than to leave their apartment.

3. So, frustrated, the KGB broke into the Sakharovs' apartment, and dispatched them to hospitals to be force-fed. After this was done, they were returned to their apartment—and, lo and behold,

4. Outside was their car. Only it was strangely misshapen. Everything in it that could be unscrewed was. Even the ashtrays had been removed. It took the Sakharovs, who could design a space vehicle to Venus in the same period, five months to piece it together.

5. Whenever the Sakharovs did anything displeasing to the KGB, their automobile suffered, in effigy. If they spoke, by whatever means, to a foreign correspondent, a tire would be slashed, a window fractured. And they were told they could not pick up hitchhikers, resulting in difficulties—

6. Once, they picked up two old ladies . . . Whee! Wong! Wing! Whee!—their car was stopped, the two old ladies dragged out of it. Again, they saw a man with a child of four, screaming with a broken leg. They stopped to take them to a hospital: The KGB rushed into the car, took the wheel, poutingly delivered the child to the first-aid station, and cautioned the Sakharovs: One more of these, and you lose your car, permanently.

It isn't likely that Ronald Reagan will have an opportunity to add to his next Summit agenda four new tires for the Sakharovs, and a brand-new ashtray. But it will never be inopportune for President Reagan to bear in mind that, in dealing with General Secretary Gorbachev, he is dealing with the principal engine of Official Russia. And Official Russia—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—is the embodiment of the kind of people who do that kind of thing to that kind of people. We strung 'em up, at Nuremberg, and now we have champagne with them. Amazing what an inventory of nuclear bombs will do for you. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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LAKE

(Continued from page 33)

alarmed the government of Mexico and PRI *jefazos*: The Department of State put Mexico on its stink list of nations that infringe the right of their citizens to honest elections, and a subcommittee of the Senate, in hearings conducted by Jesse Helms, flatly charged high Mexican officials and police with criminal complicity in the international narcotics trade.

That brought a concerted roar of outrage from the Mexican government and the party. They denounced the United States for interfering in Mexico's internal affairs and for trying to undermine Mexican sovereignty. The PRI organized a large protest demonstration in Mexico City, the impact of which may have been slightly diminished by overuse: Great demonstrations tie up traffic there every few days. Armies of the city's unemployed can be quickly mobilized at a cost of about $1 per head. For a *taco* and a *refresco* they will parade for three or four hours, and use the handles of their placards for clubs in case additional emphasis is ordered. None was in this case.

Relations between the two countries undoubtedly were badly strained, and the Mexicans' alarm is genuine. They are convinced that the United States is trying to destabilize their government, and the crash of Baby Doc Duvalier and Ferdinand Marcos still reverberates ominously.

Soothing words from Washington have not allayed Mexico's worries. The country's famed stability is under almost intolerable strain, and who knows what an additional shove might produce? □

PAYNE

(Continued from page 36)

bad guys, from El Salvador to the Environmental Protection Agency.

What happens to this picture when someone reports that Senate Democrats voted 6 to 1 in favor of Urban Development Action Grants for the Marriott Hotels? This information, frankly faced, implies that the Left-Right scheme no longer works. We can't apply Robin Hood to our politics any more. That's confusing, and people like to understand things. To protect the traditional ideological framework

that anchors our world view, we all have a tendency to avoid contrary information. Indeed, to preserve the old paradigm, some people have suggested that the parties have changed places: The Democrats have become the right-wing party, the party of business, and the Republicans are now on the left, standing for the common man against privilege. But this doesn't fit the facts either. When it comes to spending aimed at the lower class, the Democrats are in front of the Republicans by about the same margin as on spending aimed at the well-to-do.

What has taken the place of the old conflict of spending-for-the-rich versus spending-for-the-poor is, simply, *spending*—that is, the size and scope of government. This is the new ideological battle line. The vote on Gramm-Rudman was a nice test of the importance of the new ideological dimension.

On another issue, tariffs, we see a dramatic shift in party positions that provides additional evidence. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Democrats were the party of free trade while the Republicans were the protectionists—a logical consequence of their stance as spokesmen for the American businessman. In the 1980s, this pattern has reversed completely, with Democrats in Congress favoring trade barriers much more strongly than Republicans do. In the 1986 House vote on the Omnibus Trade Bill, 98 per cent of the Democrats supported this protectionist measure, while only 35 per cent of the Republicans did. Does this reflect a pro-business stance on the part of the Democrats? It is simpler and more accurate to say that Democrats favor protectionism as part of their general stance in favor of government intervention.

With the benefit of hindsight, it is obvious how this new conflict over the scope of government had to arise. Back in the days when government spent only a tiny fraction of the GNP, spending as such was a minor issue. But once the government began to spend nearly one-quarter of the nation's wealth, and mostly on domestic programs, spending became a pressing question.

Under the old ideological paradigm, the Republicans were the natural critics of this trend. Democrats had fostered the expansion of the state in the name of assisting the lower class; the Republicans, opposing that assistance, wound up opposing the growth of the state—which, while the welfare state was in its infancy, gave them a reputation for cruelty. But as the cost of compassion soared into the hundreds of billions with little good effect, it became apparent that something more than assistance to the needy was involved.

By 1980, shrinking the size of government had become a vital issue. At the beginning of the 1970s, the Republicans were not yet clearly anti-government. In the vote to bail out Lockheed in 1971, for example, 61 per cent of the Senate Republicans favored the subsidy, while only 42 per cent of the Democrats did (the House breakdown was virtually the same). But by the end of the decade the positions had reversed—as reflected in the 1979 Chrysler vote.

The "Reagan Revolution" began with a Republican majority in the Senate and an energized Republican minority in the House—and has been more faithfully supported by these blocs than by the White House itself. As former Budget Director David Stockman has detailed, Reagan has more than once defected from his own budget-cutting crusade. What Stockman missed is that on most of those defections, the majority of the Republican Party held fast.

A new age is not born all at once, and its figurehead may not be its purest exponent. But as the pattern of voting in Congress tells us, we are in a new age nevertheless. Our political debate is no longer over helping the rich versus helping the poor. For the century to come, the dispute has shifted to the size of the state, to whether the coercion of government is helpful or harmful in solving the problems of the day. □

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TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

DEFINITIONS

A. Personality needed to be a good operator? — 175 104 7 159 88 28 191 39

B. Mountains of the Eastern U.S. — 56 154 45 201 147 23 121 91 110

C. Mexican isthmus — 198 87 97 25 50 172 179 64 111 153 / 12

D. Fissure — 190 165 149 95

E. Some roads are paved with certain kinds of these — 158 146 119 29 184 51 83 2 169 19

F. Former French premier — 141 57 168 3 100 181 192 24 71 41

G. General ability — 144 194 98 8 134 40 65

H. Some people don't mind theirs — 69 59 47 199 133 176 18 114

I. American novelist (1878-1968) (full name) — 161 93 32 79 14 52 171 108 1 68 / 193 127 177

J. Behavior usually found at nursery school — 96 49 180 67 116 139 36 152

K. What some folks have each New Year's Day — 142 188 6 92 20 73 44 112

L. Certain military posture — 101 151 185 11 75 203 55 143 125

M. Lack of existence — 118 131 37 82 105 200 170 26 187 5 / 60

N. One kind of poverty — 166 85 130 117 63 22

O. Small mug — 140 174 15 123 62 80

P. The bunting pitcher did this — 31 122 54 164 66 99 145 195 4 72

Q. "Sin" of the right eye? (Matthew 5:29) — 183 189 21 113 42 84 173

R. Unrelated story? — 46 136 34 107 167 78

S. Turnpike cashier's post — 103 148 86 128 182 33 9 77

T. College in Hempstead, N.Y. — 186 53 106 138 163 16 74

U. Aconcagua is its highest peak — 124 197 89 35 156

V. Some folks break these each morning — 150 178 162 81 43

W. Tanner's material — 120 155 126 10 90 30 70

X. Image of a god — 132 160 38 109

Y. Coaxed — 76 94 58 196 129 17 137

Z. Gradual weakening — 135 61 157 102 27 48 115 13 202

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 72 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

1 I	2 E	3 F	4 P	5 M		6 K	7 A	8 G		9 S	10 W	11 L		12 C	13 Z	14 I	15 O
16 T	17 Y	18 H	19 E		20 K	21 Q		22 N	23 B	24 F		25 C	26 M	27 Z	28 A	29 E	30 W
	31 P	32 I	33 S	34 R	35 U	36 J		37 M	38 X		39 A	40 G	41 F	42 Q	43 V	44 K	45 B
	46 R	47 H		48 Z	49 J	50 C	51 E		52 I	53 T	54 P	55 L	56 B	57 F		58 Y	59 H
60 M	61 Z	62 O	63 N	64 C		65 G	66 P	67 J	68 I		69 H	70 W		71 F	72 P	73 K	74 T
75 L	76 Y	77 S	78 R		79 I	80 O		81 V	82 M	83 E	84 Q		85 N	86 S	87 C	88 A	89 U
90 W	91 B	92 K		93 I	94 Y	95 D	96 J	97 C		98 G	99 P		100F	101L	102Z	103S	104A
	105M	106T		107R	108I	109X	110B		111C	112K	113Q	114H	115Z	116J	117N	118M	119E
	120W	121B	122P	123O	124U	125L		126W	127I	128S	129Y		130N	131M	132X	133H	
134G	135Z	136R	137Y	138T		139J	140O		141F	142K	143L	144G	145P	146E	147B		148S
149D	150V		151L	152J	153C		154B	155W	156U	157Z		158E	159A	160X	161I	162V	163T
164P	165D	166N	167R		168F	169E	170M	171I	172C	173Q		174O	175A	176H	177I	178V	179C
180J	181F	182S		183Q	184E		185L	186T	187M		188K	189Q	190D	191A	192F	193I	194G
	195P	196Y	197U	198C	199H	200M	201B	202Z	203L								

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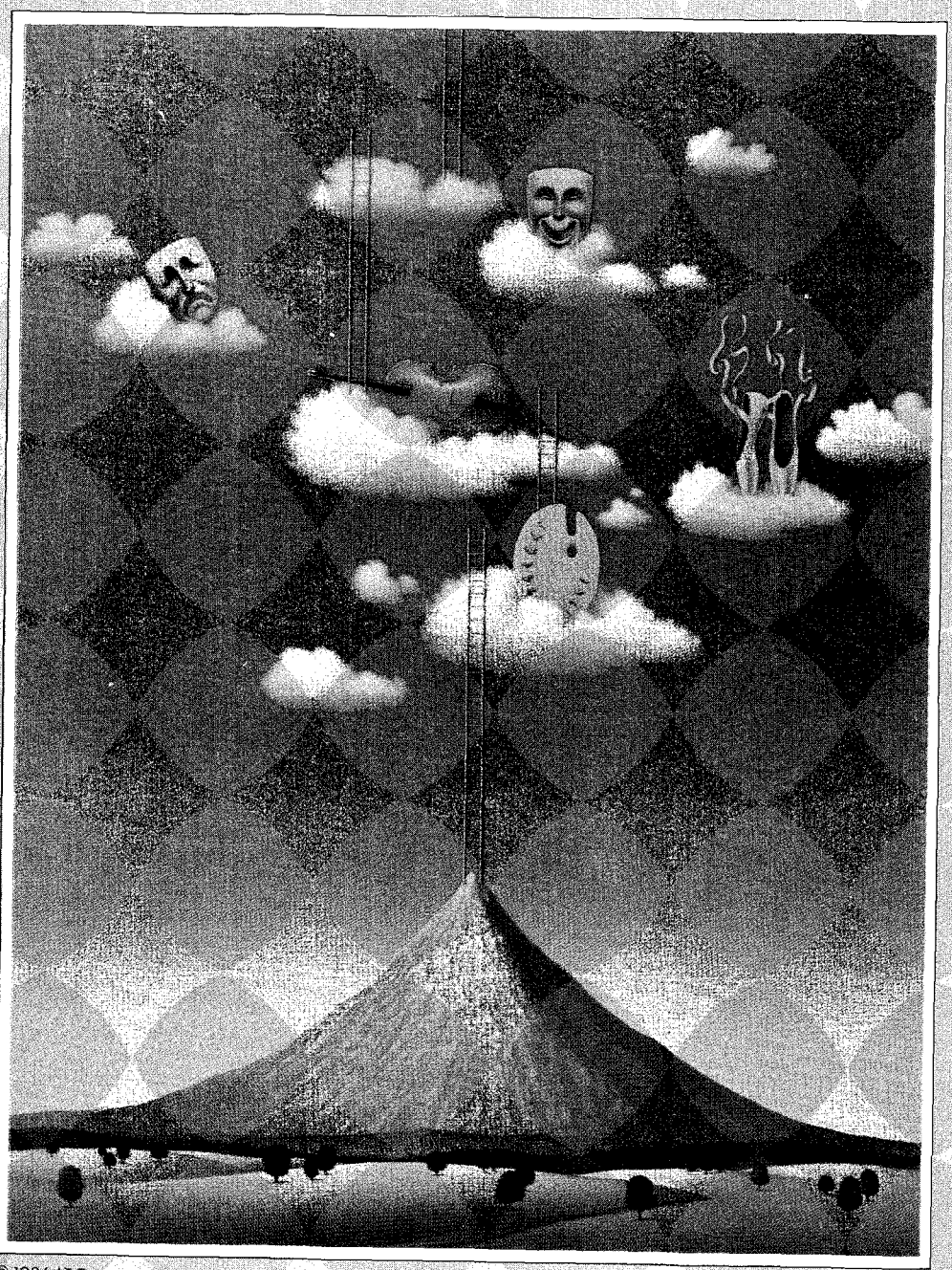

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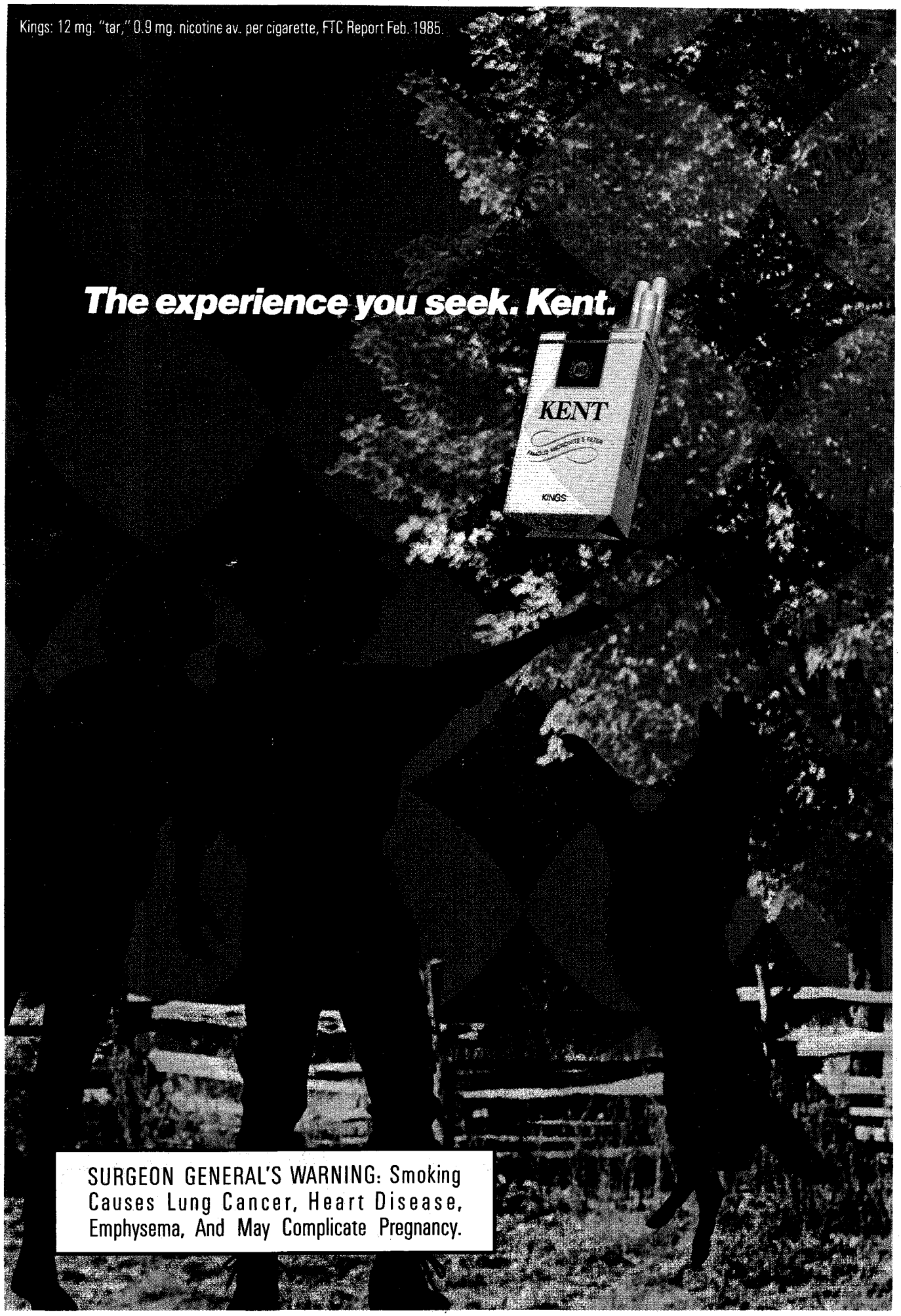
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